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QUEEN ELIZABETH

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VOLUME XXVIII

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VOLTAIRE

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VOL. V

THE ARMADA, 1588—CROMWELL, 1658

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ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

THE INVASION DESIGNED AGAINST ENGLAND — THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA — THE POWER OF PHILIP II. IN FRANCE — INQUIRY INTO THE DEATH OF DON CARLOS, ETC.

With this view Philip fitted out that prodigious fleet, which was to have been seconded in its operations by another armament from Flanders, and a general rising of all the Catholics in England. These preparations proved the ruin of Mary Stuart, and hurried her to the scaffold, instead of delivering her from it. Philip had now nothing left but to avenge her death by seizing England for himself; after which he looked upon Holland as already reduced, and punished for its rebellion.

The gold of Peru was lavished for the purposes of this expedition. On June 3, 1588, the Invincible Armada set sail from the port of Lisbon, with one hundred and fifty large ships, manned with twenty thousand soldiers, nearly seven thousand seamen who could be armed for fight upon occasion,

and mounted with three thousand pieces of cannon. The duke of Parma was ready with transports and an army of thirty thousand men, which he had raised in Flanders, to join Philip the instant he landed in England. It seemed impossible for the English ships, which were no more than small barks in comparison with those of the Spaniards, to stand against the force of these floating citadels, whose upper works were above three feet thick, and impenetrable to cannon. Nevertheless, this well-concerted scheme failed in almost every part. The English soon appeared with a fleet of one hundred sail, and, notwithstanding their inferiority in bulk, numbers, and strength, stopped the progress of this formidable fleet. They took several of the Spanish ships, and dispersed the rest by the means of fireships; a storm seconded the efforts of the English. The admiral's ship, called the *Invincible,* was very near to being lost on the coast of Zealand. The duke of Parma's army, which could not put to sea without the assistance of the Spanish fleet, remained inactive. Philip's navy, unable to resist the English and the winds, which were always contrary to them, retreated by way of the North Sea; some were wrecked on the coast of Zealand, and others on the Orkney Islands, and the coasts of Scotland; and another part was cast away on the coast of Ireland, where the country people massacred all the soldiers and sailors who had escaped the fury of the tempest, and the viceroy had the inhumanity to hang the rest. In short, of the

whole Armada, only fifty ships returned to Spain, and of thirty thousand men, who had sailed on this expedition, not more than six thousand escaped from shipwreck, and the sword and fire of the enemy.

The duke of Parma, with his fine army of thirty thousand men, had no better success in subduing the Netherlands, than the Armada had in its attempt on England. The Hollanders, who found a ready defence in their canals, sluices, and narrow causeways, who were fond of liberty to a degree of idolatry, and were all generals under their princes of Orange, were in a condition to have resisted a much more formidable force.

Philip was the only prince who could have continued formidable after so great a disaster; but America and Asia still supplied him with riches, which made all his neighbors tremble; and, after having failed in his design on England, he saw himself upon the point of reducing the kingdom of France to a province of Spain. At the same time that he was making the conquest of Portugal, carrying on the war in Flanders, and engaged in the expedition against England, he raised that faction in France, known by the name of the Holy League, which subverted the throne, and distracted the nation; and afterward, by sowing dissension in that very League which he had protected, he was thrice on the point of being declared sovereign of France, under the title of protector, with an unlimited power of conferring all posts. His daughter,

the infanta Eugenia, was to have been queen, under his direction; and the crown of France was to have been transferred in dowry with her to the person she should marry. This proposal had been actually made by the cabal of sixteen, in the year 1589, after the murder of Henry III. The duke of Mayenne, who was head of the League, had no other way of eluding it, than by saying that, as the League had been formed on account of religion, the title of Protector of France could belong only to the pope. Philip's ambassador had carried this negotiation to a great length, before the holding of the Estates of Paris, in 1593; insomuch that the abolition of the Salic Law was a long time in deliberation, and, at length, the infanta was proposed as queen of the states of Paris.

Philip had insensibly accustomed the French to a dependence upon him; for, on one hand, he supplied the League with sufficient aid to prevent its falling, and, on the other, he assisted his son-in-law, Emanuel, duke of Savoy, with forces against France. He kept troops in pay for him, and assisted him in getting himself declared protector by the Parliament of Provence; so that the French, grown familiar with these proceedings, might acknowledge Philip as protector of the whole kingdom.

It is more than probable, that France in the end would have been forced to do it. Philip, in fact, already reigned in Paris by his ambassador, who lavished pensions upon all who were in his interest,

He had the Sorbonne, and all the religious orders on his side. His scheme was not to make France a conquered country, as he had done Portugal, but to oblige that nation to request him to govern it. It was with this in view that he, in 1590, despatched the duke of Parma from the farther end of the Netherlands to relieve Paris, when pushed by the victorious arms of Henry III.; recalled him again, when by his judicious marches he had delivered that capital, without striking a blow; and afterward, in 1591, when Henry IV. sat down before the city of Rouen, sent the same general to oblige him to raise the siege. It was very surprising, that, while Philip could thus determine the fate of war in France, Maurice, prince of Orange, and the Hollanders should be sufficiently powerful to cross his designs, and send aid to Henry IV.— they, who, not ten years before, had been considered in Spain only as a parcel of obscure rebels, who could not possibly escape the punishment intended for them. However, they sent a reinforcement of three thousand men to the king of France; but the duke of Parma nevertheless delivered the city of Rouen, as he had before done that of Paris.

After this Philip recalled him again; and thus by alternately giving and withdrawing his assistance, he always made himself necessary, and spread his snares from the frontiers to the very heart of the kingdom, in order to reduce it by degrees wholly under his dominion. He had already established his power through the greatest part of Brittany by force

of arms. His son-in-law, the duke of Savoy, had done the same in Provence, and a part of Dauphiny. There was always a road open for the Spanish troops from Arras to Paris, and from Fontarabia to the River Loire. Philip himself was so thoroughly persuaded that France could not escape him, that in his conferences with the president Jeannin, the duke of Mayenne's envoy, he always used to say: "My city of Paris, my city of Orleans, my town of Rouen."

The court of Rome, though it feared him, was nevertheless obliged to assist him, and he had always the arms of religion in his favor. This cost him only the outside show of a great zeal for the Catholic religion, which served him likewise for a pretext against Geneva, whose destruction he was at that time endeavoring to bring about. In the year 1589 he sent his son-in-law, the duke of Savoy, with an army to reduce Geneva and the neighboring country. But this rich and powerful monarch always saw his designs frustrated by poor nations, whom a love for liberty exalted above themselves. The Genevans, assisted only by the two cantons of Berne and Zurich, and three hundred soldiers sent them by Henry IV., bade defiance to all his riches, and the arms of his son-in-law. These same people, in the year 1602, rescued their city out of the hands of the duke of Savoy, who surprised it by escalade, in a time of profound peace, and was giving it up to plunder. They had even the boldness to punish this attempt of a powerful monarch as a public robbery;

and hanged thirteen commissioned officers, who failing as conquerors, were treated like midnight robbers.

Thus did Philip, without quitting his closet, incessantly carry on a war at one and the same time in the Netherlands, against Maurice, in almost all the provinces of France, against Henry IV., at Geneva and in Switzerland, and against the English and Dutch by sea. But what were the fruits of these mighty projects, which for so long kept Europe in perpetual alarms? In 1596 Henry IV. deprived him of all France in a quarter of an hour, simply by going to mass. The English, whom he had himself taught to fight at sea, and who were now as good sailors as the Spaniards, plundered his possessions in America, destroyed his galleons, and burned his town of Cadiz. In short, after having once more laid waste the kingdom of France, and taken the city of Amiens by surprise — which was retaken again by the valor of Henry IV.— he found himself obliged to conclude a peace at Vervins, and to acknowledge as king of France, a person whom he had never called any other than Prince of Berne. It is also particularly worthy of observation that, by this treaty of peace he restored Calais, which had been taken by the archduke Albert, his governor in the Netherlands, during the troubles of France; and that no mention was made in the treaty of Elizabeth's pretended right; who got neither this place, nor the

eight hundred thousand crowns which she was entitled to by the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis.

Philip's power might now be compared to a mighty flood confined within its banks, after having overflowed the countries far and near. He still remained the first potentate in Europe. Elizabeth and especially Henry IV. enjoyed a greater share of personal glory; but Philip retained, to the last moment of his reign, that powerful ascendency which his great dominions and immense riches had given him. Though he had expended three thousand millions of our livres on his despotic cruelty in the Netherlands and his ambition in France, it had not impoverished him: he found an inexhaustible source of riches in America and the East Indies. It only happened that he enriched Europe by his treasures, without designing it. The sums he had lavished to carry on his intrigues in England, France, and Italy, and what his numerous armies in the Netherlands had cost him, by increasing the riches of the people whom he wanted to subdue, had increased the value of commodities almost everywhere, and Europe became wealthy from the evils premeditated against her.

He had a yearly revenue of nearly three millions of gold ducats, without being obliged to levy new taxes on his subjects. This was more than all the monarchs of Christendom had together; and in this respect he was possessed of enough to purchase many kingdoms, though not to conquer them. The

magnanimity of Elizabeth, the valor of Henry IV., and the courage of the princes of Orange triumphed over all his treasures and his intrigues. But if we except the burning of Cadiz, Spain was, during his reign, always peaceable and happy.

The Spaniards had at that time a distinguished superiority over all other nations; their language was spoken at Paris, Vienna, Milan, and Turin; their fashions, their manner of thinking and writing, captivated the minds of the Italians; and from the time of Charles V. till the beginning of Philip III.'s reign, the Spaniards were held in greater esteem than any other people.

When Philip made peace with France, he gave the Netherlands and Franche-Comté as a dowry to his daughter, Clara Eugenia, whom he had not been able to make queen, but as a fief revertible to the crown of Spain in default of her issue.

On Sept. 13, 1598, Philip died at the age of seventy-one, in his vast palace of the Escorial, which he had made a vow to build, in case his generals should win the battle of St. Quentin; as if it were of any consequence to God, whether the constable de Montmorency or Philibert of Savoy gained the victory, or as if the divine blessing could be purchased by magnificent edifices.

Posterity has ranked this prince in the number of the most powerful kings of the earth, but not the greatest. He was called the " Demon of the South," because, from the centre of Spain, which is the most

southerly part of Europe, he had disturbed all the other kingdoms on that continent.

If, after viewing him on the greater theatre of the world, we come to consider him in the light of a private man, we shall find him a rigid and suspicious master, a cruel lover and husband, and a merciless father.

There was one remarkable circumstance in his domestic life, which still exercises the curiosity of the world: this was the death of his son, Don Carlos. No one knows the manner of this prince's death; his body, which lies in the royal vault of the Escorial, appears to have had the head severed from it. But this is pretended to have been done because the leaden case which holds the body was too small. It has been asserted, in the life of the czar Peter I., that when he resolved to condemn his son to death, he sent to Spain for the acts relating to Don Carlos's trial; but neither the trial nor sentence of this prince have ever appeared. We are as little acquainted with his crime as with the nature of his death.[1] It is proved neither by facts nor probability,

[1] If our author had consulted the historians, Herrera, Ferreras, Cabrera, and Diego de Colmenarez, he would have had no reason to say the crime of Don Carlos was not known. He was a prince of a very passionate and perverse disposition, deformed, and ungracious: he had been detected in carrying on intrigues with the malcontents in the Low Countries: he was impatient to espouse the archduchess, Anne of Austria, and the negotiation about this match proving tedious, he concluded that his father thought him unfit for marriage, and incapable of

that his father had him condemned by the Inquisition.

All that we know concerning it is that, in 1568, his father came in person and arrested him in his apartment, and that he wrote to the empress, his sister, that he had never discovered any capital vice nor dishonorable action in the prince, his son, but that he had caused him to be confined for his

succession. Stimulated by this opinion, he resolved to fly into Germany, and borrow considerable sums from several noblemen. Then he broached the design to Don John of Austria, and solicited his concurrence: but Don John refused to be concerned, and exhorted him to lay aside his intention; yet still persisting in this scheme, he was abandoned by his confessor, his letters were intercepted by the king, who likewise discovered that the postmaster had received the prince's order to provide horses for a long journey. These were the reasons which induced his father to secure his person. For this purpose he entered the prince's apartment at midnight, attended by several noblemen and a party of guards. Don Carlos, seeing him come in, shrank under the bed-clothes, crying: "Will your majesty kill me? I am not mad, but the treatment I have met with makes me desperate." The king desired he would make himself easy, declaring that everything was intended for his good. He then seized all his arms and papers, committed him to the charge of six noblemen of the first rank, and immediately communicated to the pope's nuncio and all the foreign ministers, the motives which had induced him to take this extraordinary step.

St. Évremond, one of those writers who say he was strangled by his father's order, endeavors to throw a veil of ridicule over a very serious transaction. He affirms that the executioner in going to perform his office, said: "Don't make any noise sir, this is all for your good." We have in a former volume given an account of his death.

own good, and that of the kingdom. He wrote at the same time in quite contrary terms to Pope Pius V., to whom he says in his letter of Jan. 20, 1568: "The force of a vicious disposition had from his tenderest years destroyed in Don Carlos all the effects of his paternal instructions."

After these letters, in which Philip gives an account of the imprisonment of his son, we meet with no others in which he clears himself of his death; and this alone, joined to the rumor which prevailed throughout all Europe, affords a strong presumption that he was guilty of the murder of his son. His silence in the midst of the public reports is another foundation for justifying those who assert that the cause of this shocking affair was the passion which Don Carlos had conceived for Elizabeth of France, his mother-in-law, and she for him. Nothing could appear more probable. Elizabeth had been brought up in a gay and voluptuous court. Philip II. was perpetually engaged in intrigues with the fair sex. Gallantry was the very essence of a Spaniard, and examples of infidelity abounded everywhere. It was natural for Don Carlos and Elizabeth, who were about the same age, to have entertained a mutual passion for each other. The sudden death of this princess, which followed soon after that of Don Carlos, confirmed these suspicions. All Europe believed that Philip had sacrificed his wife and his son to emotions of jealousy; and this belief was strengthened when, some time afterward,

this same jealous disposition led him to resolve upon the death of the famous Antonio Perez, who was his rival with the princess of Eboli.

These crimes we find publicly charged against him by the prince of Orange, in the famous manifesto which he laid before the tribunal of the public. It is very surprising that Philip did not at least employ some of the venal pens of the kingdom to reply to these accusations; and that no one in Europe ever offered to refute what the prince of Orange had advanced. These do not indeed amount to absolute proofs, but they are the strongest presumptions against him; and history should not neglect reporting them as such, as the judgment of posterity is the only defence we have against successful tyranny.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

THE ENGLISH UNDER EDWARD VI., MARY, AND ELIZABETH.

The English had not the same splendor of success as the Spaniards, nor such influence in other courts, nor did they possess that great power which rendered Spain so dangerous to its neighbors; but they acquired a new kind of glory from the ocean, and the extensive maritime trade they carried on. They knew their true element, and that alone made them more happy than all the foreign possessions and conquests of their ancient kings. Had these kings

reigned in France, England would have been only a subjected province. This nation, which was formed with so much difficulty, and which had been so frequently and easily subdued by the Danish and Saxon pirates,[1] and the duke of Normandy, were only the rude instruments under Edward III. and Henry V. of the transient glory of those monarchs; but under Elizabeth they became a powerful, civilized, industrious, laborious, and enterprising nation. The improvements made by the Spaniards in navigation excited their emulation, and they undertook three successive voyages to discover a northwest passage to Japan and China. Drake and Cavendish sailed around the globe, attacking in all places the Spaniards, who had extended their conquests and trade to both ends of the world. Several private companies of adventurers, who depended entirely on their own stock, carried on a very profitable trade upon the coast of Guinea.[2] The famous Sir Walter Raleigh,[3] without receiving the least assistance from

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[1] The English people were never conquered by the Saxons and Danes; for they themselves are the posterity of those very conquerors. What are the English people but the descendants of Saxons, Danes, and Normans? We might with the same reason say that the French were easily conquered by the Franks under Clovis, who were in fact the ancestors of the French people.

[2] There was no English company that traded to the coast of Guinea in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

[3] Sir Walter Raleigh established the colony of Virginia, which is quite a distance from New England.

the government, founded and improved the colony of New England, in the southern part of America, in the year 1585. By these expeditions they soon formed the best marine in Europe, as sufficiently appears from their fitting out a hundred sail to oppose the Armada sent against them by Philip II., going afterward to insult him upon his own coasts, destroying his ships, and burning his city of Cadiz; at length, grown more formidable, they, in 1602, defeated the first fleet which Philip III. sent to sea, and from that time acquired a superiority by sea, which they have since maintained, except on some few occasions.

From the beginning of Elizabeth's reign they applied themselves to manufactures. The Flemish, being persecuted by Philip II., removed to London, carrying with them an increase of inhabitants, industry, and riches. This capital, which enjoyed the blessings of peace under Elizabeth, cultivated the liberal arts, which are the badges and consequences of plenty. The names of Spencer and Shakespeare, who flourished in those days, are handed down to other nations. In a word, London was enlarged, civilized, and embellished, and in a short time half of the little island of Great Britain was able to counterbalance the whole power of Spain. The English were the second nation in the world in industry; and in liberty they were the first. During this reign there were public companies established for trading to the Levant and the North.

Agriculture now began to be considered in England as the chief riches of the state, while in Spain they began to neglect this real good for ideal treasures. The gold and silver trade of the new world enriched the king of Spain: but in England the subject was benefited by the sale of the natural commodities. A private merchant of London, called Sir Thomas Gresham, was at that time rich enough to build the Royal Exchange at his own expense, and a college which bears his name. Several other citizens founded hospitals and public schools. Such were the glorious effects produced by liberty in that kingdom that private persons could do what kings at present can only do in the most happy administration.

The royal revenues in Elizabeth's reign seldom exceeded six hundred thousand pounds sterling, and the number of inhabitants in the kingdom was not more than four millions. The single kingdom of Spain contained at least as many more. And yet Elizabeth defended herself with success, and had at once the glory of assisting Henry IV. to subdue his kingdom, and the Dutch to establish their republic.

But to acquire a clearer knowledge of the life and reign of Elizabeth, it will be necessary to take a short retrospect of the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary.

Elizabeth was born in 1533, and while yet in her cradle, was declared the lawful heiress to the crown of England; a short time afterward, upon her

mother being removed from the throne to the scaffold, she was declared a bastard. Her father, who ended his life in 1547, died like a tyrant, as he had lived. While on his deathbed, he gave orders for executions, and always under the sanction of justice. He condemned the duke of Norfolk and his son to lose their heads, on no other pretence than that they had the arms of England marked on their plate. The father indeed obtained his pardon,[1] but the son was executed. It must be owned, that as the English are said to set little value upon their lives, their governors have treated them according to their taste. Even the reign of Edward VI., son of Henry VIII., and Jane Seymour, was not exempt from these bloody tragedies. Thomas Seymour, high admiral of England, and the king's own uncle, was beheaded for having quarrelled with his brother, Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, who was protector of the kingdom during the king's minority; and soon afterward Somerset himself suffered the same fate. The reign of Edward VI., which lasted only five years, and during which the nation was, or appeared to be, of the Protestant religion, was a scene of seditions and troubles. When he died he left his crown to neither Mary nor Elizabeth, but to Lady Jane Grey, a descendant of Henry VII.,

[1] The death-warrant was actually signed and sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the duke would have been beheaded next morning had not the king himself died in the interim.

and granddaughter of the widow of Louis XII. and one Brandon, a private gentleman, who had been created duke of Suffolk. This Jane Grey was wife of Lord Guilford, son of the duke of Northumberland, a nobleman of great power in Edward's time. Edward's will, by which he bequeathed the throne to Lady Jane Grey, only proved the means of bringing her to a scaffold. She was proclaimed queen in London; but Mary's interest and her lawful rights, as being daughter of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon, prevailed; and the first thing which this queen did after signing her contract of marriage with Philip II. was to condemn to death her rival, who was a young lady of seventeen, full of beauty and innocence, and who had been guilty of no crime but that of being named in Edward's will for his successor. It availed her not that she made a voluntary resignation of her fatal dignity, which she held but nine days: she was led to execution with her husband, father, and father-in-law. This was the third queen of England who had mounted the scaffold within less than twenty years. The Protestant religion, in which she had been educated, was the principal cause of her untimely fate. In this revolution the arm of the executioner was much more employed than that of the soldiery; and all these cruelties were committed by act of parliament. Every nation has had its times of horror and bloodshed; but more illustrious lives have been lost upon the scaffold in England than in all the rest of

Europe combined. It has been the character of this nation to commit murders by form of law; and the gates of London have been loaded with human skulls, like the walls of the temple of Mexico.

CHAPTER CXL.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH was confined in prison by her sister upon her accession to the throne. This princess, who, after she came to be queen, refused the hand of Philip II., now wanted to espouse Courtney, earl of Devonshire; and it appears by letters of hers yet remaining that she had a strong inclination for this nobleman. A match of this kind would not have been at all extraordinary; we have seen that Lady Jane Grey, though declared heiress to the crown, had married Lord Guilford. Mary, queen dowager of France, descended from the bed of Louis XII. to that of Charles Brandon. All the royal family of England sprang from a private gentleman, named Tudor, who had married the daughter of Henry V., daughter of Charles VI., king of France; and in France, before its kings had attained their height of power, the widow of Louis the Fat made no difficulty of espousing Matthew de Montmorency.

Elizabeth, while a prisoner, and under a state of continual persecution from her sister Mary, employed these moments of her disgrace to the noblest purposes; she improved her mind, she

learned the languages and sciences; but of all the arts in which she excelled, the chief was that of dissimulation, by which she kept fair with her sister, with the Catholics, and with the Protestants, and learned how to reign.

No sooner was she proclaimed queen, than she found herself strongly solicited in marriage by her brother-in-law, Philip II. Had she listened to his proposals, France and Holland would have been in danger of being overwhelmed; but she detested both the religion and person of Philip, and resolved to indulge the vanity of being beloved, and the happiness of being independent. Having been imprisoned by a Catholic sister, her first thoughts, upon mounting the throne, were to restore the Protestant religion in her kingdom. However, she permitted a Catholic bishop to perform the ceremony of her coronation, that she might not sour the minds of the people at first. I shall here observe, that she went from Westminster to the Tower of London in an open chariot, followed by a hundred others — not that coaches were at that time in use; it was only an occasional piece of state.

Immediately after her coronation she convoked a parliament, which settled the religion of England such as it now is, and vested the supremacy, first-fruits, and tenths, in the sovereign.

Elizabeth then had the title of supreme head of the Church of England. Several writers, especially the Italians, have thought this a ridiculous dignity,

in a woman; but they might have considered that this woman reigned; that she was in possession of the rights annexed to the crown by the laws of the country; that in former times the sovereigns of all the known nations in the world had the superintendence in religious matters; that the Roman emperors were sovereign pontiffs; that although at present there are several countries where the State is governed by the Church, there are others where the Church is governed by the State; and lastly, that it is not more ridiculous for a queen of England to have the nomination of an archbishop of Canterbury, the primate of the whole kingdom, and to prescribe laws to him, than for an abbess of Fontevrault to nominate priors and curates, and give them her benediction; in a word, that every country has its customs.

The Church of England retained whatever was most solemn and august in the Romish ceremonies, and most austere in the Lutheran discipline. I shall observe, that out of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergy, who were at that time in England, there were but fourteen bishops, fifty canons, and eighty curates, who lost their livings for remaining Catholics, and refusing to subscribe to the reformation. When we reflect that the English nation had changed its religion four several times since the reign of Henry VIII., we are surprised that a people who enjoy so great liberty, should ever have been subdued, or that, possessed of so much resolution,

they should ever have been so fickle. The English in this resemble those Swiss cantons, who waited for their magistrates to determine what should be their creed. An act of parliament is everything with the English; they love the laws, and there is no governing them except by laws made by a parliament which pronounces, or seems to pronounce, by its own authority.

No one was persecuted for being a Roman Catholic; but those who went about to disturb the peace of the kingdom, through a principle of conscience, were severely punished. The Guises, who at that time made a handle of religion to establish their own power in France, made use of the same methods to set their niece, Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, on the English throne. Masters of the finances and armies of France, they sent money and troops over to Scotland, under pretence of assisting the Catholics of that kingdom against the Protestants. Mary Stuart, who was married to Francis II., king of France, openly took upon her the title of queen of England, as being descended from Henry VIII. All the English, Scotch, and Irish Catholics were in her interest. Elizabeth was not yet so firmly settled on the throne, but that religious cabals might have shaken her authority. However, she dispersed this first storm; in 1560, sent an army to the relief of the Scotch Protestants, and obliged the queen regent of Scotland, Mary's mother, to consent by treaty to

obey laws of her dictating, and to send the French troops home within twenty days.

Francis II. dying, she obliged Mary Stuart to drop the title of queen of England. By her intrigues she prevailed upon the Parliament of Edinburgh to establish the reformed religion in Scotland; and by this artful management she brought into her interest a country from which she had everything to fear.

Scarcely was she freed from these inquietudes, when she received fresh alarms of a more dangerous kind from Philip II. This monarch was her friend, so long as Mary Stuart, as heiress to Elizabeth, had a prospect of uniting in her own person the crowns of France, England, and Scotland; but Francis II. being now dead, and his widow returned helpless to Scotland, Philip had only the Protestants to fear, and therefore became an implacable enemy to Elizabeth.

He now privately raised commotions in Ireland, which Elizabeth as quickly suppressed. He protected the Catholic League in France, which proved so fatal to the royal family, and she assisted the opposite party. The republic of Holland found itself hard pressed by Philip's forces, and Elizabeth saved it from ruin. Formerly the kings of England were wont to drain their country of men to settle themselves on the throne of France; but interests and times were now so changed that the queen of England sent repeated relief to Henry IV. to assist him in conquering his patrimony. With this aid Henry

at length laid siege to Paris; and had it not been for the duke of Parma, or the king's extreme indulgence to the besieged, he would have fixed the Protestant religion in the kingdom. This is what Elizabeth had greatly at heart. It was natural for her to wish to see her endeavors succeed, and not to lose all the fruits of the great expense she had been at. Besides, she had conceived a mortal aversion to the Catholic religion ever since she had been excommunicated by the two popes, Pius V. and Sixtus V., who had declared her unworthy and incapable to govern; and the more Philip II. declared himself the protector of this religion, the more she became its implacable enemy.

No Protestant divine could have been more afflicted than Elizabeth when she heard that Henry IV. had renounced the reformed doctrines. Her letter to that prince is very remarkable: "You offer me your friendship, as to your sister. I am certain I have deserved it, having paid dearly for it; but of this I should not repent, had you not changed your father. I can no longer be your sister by the father's side, for I shall always have a greater affection for my own father than for him who has adopted you." This letter serves at once to show her heart, her understanding, and her forcible manner of expressing herself in a foreign language.

Notwithstanding this hatred to the Roman Catholic religion, it is certain that she did not deal cruelly with the Catholics of her kingdom, as Mary had

done during her reign with the Protestants. It is true, that the two Jesuits, Creighton and Campian, with some others, were hanged, at the same time that the duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III., was preparing everything in London for his marriage with the queen, which at length proved abortive; but these Jesuits were unanimously convicted of conspiracy and sedition, of which they were accused; and sentence was given against them upon the testimony of witnesses. They might have fallen innocent victims, but then the queen was likewise innocent of their death, as she acted only by the laws.

Several persons in France still imagine that Elizabeth put the earl of Essex to death merely from a fit of jealousy; and found their belief on a tragedy and a novel. But those who have read anything, know that the queen was at that time seventy-eight years of age, and that the earl of Essex, finding the queen grown old, and hoping that her authority would decline with her years, had been guilty of an act of open rebellion, for which he was afterward tried by his peers, who passed sentence of death upon him and his accomplices.

The more exact administration of justice during Elizabeth's reign than under that of any of her predecessors proved one of the firmest supports of her government. The revenues of the state were employed only in its defence.

She had favorites, but she enriched none of them

at the expense of the nation. Her people were her chief favorites; not that she really loved them, for who can love the people? But she was sensible that her glory and safety depended solely upon behaving toward them as if she did love them.

Elizabeth would have enjoyed an unblemished fame had she not sullied a reign, in other respects so glorious, by the murder of her rival, Mary Stuart, a murder which she ventured to perpetrate with the sacred sword of justice.

CHAPTER CXLI.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

It is a difficult matter to come at the whole truth in disputes between private people, and how much more so in those of crowned heads, where so many secret springs are employed, and where both parties equally make use of truth and falsehood, as best suits their purpose. Contemporary writers are in these cases generally suspected of partiality, and are for the most part rather advocates on one side, than the faithful depositaries of history. I must then confine myself to authenticated facts only, amidst the perplexed accounts given of this important and fatal event.

Mary and Elizabeth were rivals in all respects: they were rivals in nations, in crowns, in religion, in understanding, and in beauty. Mary was far less powerful, and not so much mistress of herself as

Elizabeth, nor had she her unshaken resolution and depth of politics; in a word, she was superior to her only in the charms of her person, which contributed not a little to her subsequent misfortunes. Mary, Queen of Scots, encouraged the Catholic faction in England, and the queen of England still more powerfully supported the Protestant party in Scotland. Elizabeth gained so much the ascendency by her intrigues that for a long time she prevented Mary from concluding second nuptials where she had an inclination.

However, Mary, in spite of the cabals of her rival, and of the Scottish parliament, which was wholly made up of Protestants, and headed by her brother, the earl of Murray, married Henry Stuart, earl of Darnley, who was her cousin, and a Catholic like herself. Elizabeth upon this tampered in private with Mary's principal Protestant subjects, and excited them to take up arms. Mary pursued the rebels in person, and obliged them to retreat into England. Thus far everything seemed to favor her and confound her rival.

Mary had a soft and tender heart; this was the beginning of all her misfortunes. An Italian musician, named David Rizzio, had insinuated himself too far into her good graces. He played well upon several instruments, and had a very agreeable bass voice. A proof that the Italians were at that time in possession of the empire of music, and exercised their profession with a kind of exclusive right in all

courts, is that Mary's whole band was Italian. Another proof that foreign courts make an indiscriminate use of anyone who is in credit, is, that this Rizzio was a pensioner to the pope. He was greatly instrumental in the queen's marriage with Lord Darnley, and not less so in that dislike she afterward took to him. Darnley, who had only the name of king, and saw himself despised by his wife, grew incensed and jealous; and one evening when he knew the queen was in her apartment, he took with him a few armed men, and going up a pair of private stairs, entered her chamber, where she was at supper with Rizzio and one of the ladies of her court. They overturned the table, and slew Rizzio before the queen's eyes, who in vain attempted to cover his body with her own. Mary was at that time five months gone with child: the sight of the naked and bloody weapons made so strong an impression on her, that it was communicated to the infant in her womb. This was James VI., afterward king of England and Scotland, who was born four months after this melancholy affair, and who all his lifetime trembled at the sight of a drawn sword, in spite of his utmost endeavors to overcome this disposition of his organs. So great is the force of nature, and so powerfully does she act by ways impenetrable to us!

The queen soon resumed her authority, was reconciled to the earl of Murray, prosecuted the murderers of Rizzio, and entered into a fresh engage-

ment with the earl of Bothwell. These new amours produced the death of her husband. It is said an attempt was made to poison him, but that the strength of his constitution got the better of the drugs they had given him; however, it is certain that he was murdered in Edinburgh, in a lone house, from which the queen had previously removed most of her valuable effects. As soon as the murder was committed, the house was blown up with gunpowder, and the body was deposited near that of David Rizzio, in the vault belonging to the royal family. The parliament and the whole nation openly charged Bothwell with this murder; and, in the midst of the general cry for justice, Mary contrived to have herself carried off by this assassin, whose hands were yet stained with her husband's blood, and was afterward publicly married to him. What was most extraordinary in this horrid adventure was that Bothwell had at that time a wife; and, in order to bring about a separation, he obliged her to accuse him of adultery, and made the archbishop of St. Andrew's pronounce sentence of divorce between them, agreeable to the custom of the country.

Bothwell was possessed of all that insolence which attends great wickedness. He assembled the principal noblemen of the kingdom, and made them sign a writing, by which it was declared, in express terms, that the queen could not dispense with marrying him, as he had carried her away, and had lain

with her. All these facts are authenticated: the letters which Mary is said to have written to Bothwell have indeed been disputed, but they carry such strong marks of truth that there is hardly any doubting their reality. These complicated villainies effectually roused the Scots; Mary was abandoned by her army, and obliged to yield herself prisoner to the confederates. Bothwell fled into the Orkneys; the queen was compelled to resign the crown to her son, but was allowed to appoint a regent during his minority. She named her brother, the earl of Murray: this nobleman, however, reproached her in the bitterest manner with her past conduct. At length she escaped from her confinement; Murray's harsh and severe temper had procured her a new party. In 1568 she found means to raise six thousand men, but she was soon defeated and obliged to take shelter on the English borders. Elizabeth at first gave her an honorable reception at Carlisle, but privately intimated to her that, as she was accused by the public voice of the murder of her husband, it behooved her to vindicate herself, and that she might depend upon her protection, if she should be found innocent.

Elizabeth now made herself arbiter between Mary and the Scottish regency. The regent came in person to Hampton court, and consented to deposit the papers containing the proofs against his sister, in the hands of commissioners to be appointed by the queen of England. The unfortunate Mary, on the other

hand, who was still detained prisoner in Carlisle, accused the earl of Murray himself as author of that murder which he had laid to her charge; and excepted to the English commissioners, unless the ambassadors of France and Spain were joined with them. Nevertheless, Elizabeth still caused this unaccountable trial to be carried on, and indulged herself in the cruel pleasure of seeing her rival pine away in confinement, without coming to any determination concerning her fate. She was not Mary's judge, she owed her an asylum, but she caused her to be removed to Tewkesbury, where she was little better than a prisoner.

These disasters of the royal house of Scotland were reflected upon the nation, which was rent by factions that arose from anarchy. The earl of Murray was murdered by one of these factions, which sheltered itself under the authority of Mary's name. After this murder, the insurgents entered England, and laid waste the borders with fire and sword.

In 1570 Elizabeth sent an army to chastise these disturbers of the peace, and keep Scotland in awe. She likewise had the regency of that kingdom given to the earl of Lenox, brother of the murdered king. Thus far she acted according to the rules of justice and true greatness. At the same time a conspiracy was formed in England for delivering Mary from her confinement, and Pope Pius V. very indiscreetly caused a bull to be published in London, by which he excommunicated Elizabeth, and released her sub-

jects from their oath of allegiance. This step, which was intended to deliver Mary, only hastened her downfall. The two queens entered into mutual negotiations; the one from her throne, and the other from a prison. Mary does not seem to have behaved with that flexibility which the situation of her affairs required. Scotland at this time was weltering in blood; the Catholics and Protestants had raised a civil war in the kingdom. The French ambassador and the archbishop of St. Andrew's were made prisoners, the latter of whom was hanged upon the evidence of his own confessor, who swore that this prelate had accused himself to him of being an accomplice in the murder of the late king.

It was Mary's greatest misfortune to have a number of friends in her disgrace. The duke of Norfolk, who was a Catholic, wanted to marry her in hope of a revolution, and reckoning on Mary's right of succession to Elizabeth. Several parties were formed in her favor in London, which were weak indeed, but were capable of being strengthened by forces from Spain, and the intrigues of the court of Rome. These machinations, however, cost the duke of Norfolk his head, in 1572. He was sentenced to die by his peers for having solicited aid from the pope and the king of Spain, in Mary's behalf. The duke of Norfolk's death rivetted this unhappy princess's chains; her long misfortunes had not yet discouraged those of her party in London, who were

strongly supported by the princess of Guise, the pope, the Jesuits, and the court of Spain.

The great point in view was to set Mary at liberty, and place her on the English throne, and with her restore the Catholic religion. A conspiracy was formed against Elizabeth. Philip had already begun to prepare for his invasion. The queen of England caused fourteen of the conspirators to be put to death, and brought Mary, who was her equal, to a public trial, as if she had been her subject. Forty-two members of parliament and five of the judges were sent to examine her in Fotheringay castle; she protested against their proceedings, and refused to make any reply. Never was trial so irregularly carried on, nor sentence so cruelly passed; she was presented only with copies of her letters, and no originals. They made use of the depositions of her secretaries, without confronting them with her; they pretended to convict her upon the evidence of three conspirators, who had been executed, though their sentence should have been deferred till they had been examined in Mary's presence. In a word, though they had even proceeded with all the forms which justice requires for the lowest of the people, had they proved that Mary solicited for aid and revenge wherever she had a prospect of succeeding, they could not with equity have pronounced her criminal. Elizabeth had no other jurisdiction over her than that of the strong over the weak and unfortunate.

At length, after eighteen years' imprisonment, in a country which she had imprudently chosen for an asylum, Mary was beheaded, on Feb. 28, 1587, in an apartment of the prison hung with black. Elizabeth was sensible that she had committed a base act, but she added to the odium of it by attempting to impose upon the public — who were not, however, to be so deceived — with an affectation of sorrow for a person whom she had put to death, by pretending that her ministers had exceeded her orders, and by imprisoning the secretary of state, who, she said, had been too precipitate in executing a warrant signed by herself. Europe detested her cruelty and dissimulation. Her reign was esteemed, but her character was held in abhorrence. But what renders her still more condemnable is her not having been forced to this barbarity. It may even be said, that in Mary's person she had a security against the attempts of her adherents.

Though this action be an indelible stain upon the memory of Elizabeth, it is a fanatical weakness to canonize Mary Stuart as a martyr to religion; she was only a martyr to adultery, to the murder of her husband, and to her own imprudence. In her failings and misfortunes she perfectly resembled Joan of Naples; they were both handsome and sprightly, both, through the frailty of their sex, drawn to commit an atrocious deed, and both put to death by their relatives. History frequently presents us with a repetition of the same misfortunes,

the same flagitious deeds, and one crime punished by another.

CHAPTER CXLII.

FRANCE, TOWARD THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, UNDER FRANCIS II.

While all Europe was alarmed at the excessive power of Spain, and England made the second figure by opposing that monarchy, France had grown weak, divided into factions, and in danger of being dismembered, so that it was far from having any influence or credit in Europe. The civil wars of this kingdom had reduced it to a state of dependence on all its neighbors. Those times of fury, abjectness, and misery have furnished more matter for history than is contained in all the Roman annals. And what were the causes of all those misfortunes? Religion, ambition, the want of good laws, and a maladministration.

Henry II., by his severity against the sectaries, and especially by the condemnation of the counsellor of parliament, Anne du Bourg, who was executed after the king's death by order of the Guises, made more Calvinists in France than there were in all Switzerland and Geneva. Had these people made their appearance in a time like that of Louis XII., when the court of France was at war with the papal see, they might possibly have met with some indulgence; but they appeared precisely at the time when

Henry II. stood in need of Pope Paul IV., to assist him in disputing possession of Naples and Sicily with Spain, and while these two powers were in alliance with the Turk against the house of Austria. It was therefore thought necessary to sacrifice them. The clergy, who were powerful at court, and were in fear of losing their temporalities and authority, persecuted them; and policy, interest, and zeal, concurred in their ruin. The state might have tolerated them, as Elizabeth tolerated the Catholics in England, and have preserved a number of good subjects by allowing them liberty of conscience. It would have been of little concern to the government in what manner they performed their devotion, provided they submitted themselves to the established laws: whereas, by persecuting them, they made them rebels.

The untimely fate of Henry II. was the signal of thirty years of civil wars. An infant king governed by foreigners, and the jealousy of the princes of the blood and high officers of the crown against the family of Guise, on account of their great credit in the kingdom, began the subversion of France.

The famous conspiracy of Amboise was the first of the kind we hear of in this country. To form leagues, and then break them, to pass hastily from one extreme to another, to be violent in their passions and sudden in their repentance, seemed hitherto to have formed the character of the Gauls, who,

when they took the name of Franks, and afterward of French, did not change their manners. But in this conspiracy there was a degree of boldness which equalled that of Catiline, with an artful management, a depth of contrivance, and a profound secrecy like that of the Sicilian Vespers, or the Pazzi of Florence. Louis, prince of Condé, was the soul that secretly animated this plot, but in so artful a manner, that though all France was convinced that he was at the head of it, no one could positively convict him of being so.

It was peculiar to this conspiracy, that it was in one sense excusable, as being undertaken to wrest the government out of the hands of Francis, duke of Guise, and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, who were both foreigners, and held the king in subjection, the nation in slavery, and the princes of the blood and officers of the crown at a distance; and in another highly criminal, as it attacked the rights of a king who was at age, and empowered by the laws to choose the depositaries of his authority.

It has never been proved that there was any design of killing the Guises; but as they would doubtless have made a resistance, their deaths were inevitable. Five hundred gentlemen, all well seconded, and a thousand resolute soldiers, headed by thirty chosen captains, were all to assemble from the several provinces of the kingdom on an appointed day at Amboise, where the court then kept its residence. Kings were not in those times sur-

rounded by so numerous a guard as they are at present. The regiment of guards was not formed till the reign of Charles IX. Two hundred archers were the most that attended Francis II., the other kings of Europe had no more. When the constable of Montmorency came to Orleans, where the Guises had placed a new guard about the court upon the death of Francis II. he dismissed the newly raised soldiers, and threatened to have them all hanged as enemies to the state, who planted a barrier between the king and his people.

The simplicity of the ancient times still continued in the palaces of our kings, but they were by this means more exposed to resolute attempts. It was an easy matter to seize the royal family, the ministers, and even the king himself: there was almost a certainty of success. The secret was kept inviolable by all the conspirators for nearly six months; at length it was discovered by the indiscretion of one of the chiefs, named de la Renaudie, who divulged it in confidence to a lawyer of Paris, who exposed the whole plot, which, nevertheless, was carried into execution. In 1560 the conspirators met at the place appointed as if nothing had happened; religious enthusiasm furnished them with a desperate obstinacy. These gentlemen were for the most part Calvinists, who made a duty of avenging their persecuted brethren. Louis, prince of Condé, had openly embraced the new doctrine, because the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine were Cath-

olics. This attempt was set on foot to bring about a revolution in Church and State.

The Guises had hardly time to get together a body of troops. There were not fifteen thousand men enrolled in all the kingdom: but they soon mustered a sufficient number to exterminate the conspirators, who, as they arrived in detached parties, were easily defeated. De la Renaudie was killed fighting, and many others died like him, with their arms in their hands. Those who were taken died by the hands of executioners, and, for a whole month nothing was to be seen in Paris but bloody scaffolds, and gibbets loaded with dead bodies.

The conspiracy thus discovered, and the authors of it punished, only served to increase the power it was meant to overthrow. Francis de Guise was invested with the authority of the ancient mayors of the palace, under the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But this very authority, and the restless ambition of his brother, the cardinal, who endeavored to introduce the Inquisition into France, stirred up all ranks in the kingdom against them, and proved the sources of fresh troubles.

The Calvinists, who were still privately encouraged by the prince of Condé, took up arms in several provinces. The power of the Guises must certainly have been very formidable, seeing that neither Condé nor his brother, Anthony, king of Navarre, father of Henry IV., nor the famous admiral Coligny, nor his brother d'Andelot, colonel-general of

the infantry, dared to declare themselves openly. The prince of Condé was the first head of a party that ever seemed to wage civil war with fear and apprehension; he seemed ready to strike a blow, and would afterward draw back again; and, imagining that he could always keep fair with a court that he meant to destroy, he was so imprudent as to go to Fontainebleau in the character of a courtier, when he should have been in that of a general at the head of his party. The Guises caused him to be arrested at Orleans, and arraigned before the privy council and commissioners chosen out of the parliament, notwithstanding his privilege as a prince of the blood exempted him from being tried by any but the court of peers, and the parliament assembled. But what avails privilege against superior strength; or what indeed was privilege of which there had been no precedent but in the violation of it, in the case of the criminal process formerly issued against the duke d'Alençon?

The prince of Condé then was condemned to be beheaded. The famous chancellor de L'Hôp'tal, a noble legislator, at a time when good laws were most wanted, and an intrepid philosopher, in an age of enthusiasm and fury, refused to sign the sentence. This example of undaunted courage was followed by the count de Sancerre, one of the privy council. Nevertheless the decree was going to be published, and the prince of Condé was on the point of falling by the hand of the executioner,

when suddenly the young king, Francis II., who had been ill for a long time, and was infirm from his cradle, died at the age of seventeen, leaving his brother Charles, who was then only ten, an exhausted kingdom, rent in pieces by factions.

The death of Francis proved the deliverance of Condé; he was presently released from his confinement, after a feigned reconciliation had been effected between him and the Guises, which was no more than the seal of revenge and hatred, as indeed what else could it be. The estates were now assembled at Orleans, without whom nothing could be done in such a situation of affairs. These estates conferred the guardianship of the young king, Charles IX., and the government of the kingdom on Catherine de Medici, but not under the name of regent; they did not even give her the title of majesty, which had but very lately been assumed by kings. There are several letters from Sieur de Bourdeilles to Henry III., in which he styles that prince "Your highness."

CHAPTER CXLIII.

FRANCE DURING THE MINORITY OF CHARLES IX. AND THE REIGN OF HENRY III.

DURING every royal minority, the ancient constitution of a kingdom always recovers some part of its vigor, at least for a time, like a family assembled together upon the death of the father. A general

assembly of the states was held at Orleans, and afterward at Pontoise: these estates deserve to have their memories preserved, for the perpetual separation they made between the sword and the long robe. This distinction was unknown in the Roman Empire, even to the time of Constantine; their magistrates understood how to conduct armies, and their generals could decide causes. The sword and the law were, in like manner, lodged in the same hands in almost all the nations of Europe, till toward the beginning of the fourteenth century. Little by little these two professions were separated in Spain and France; though not absolutely so in the latter, notwithstanding the parliaments were composed only of the gentlemen of the long robe. The jurisdiction of the bailiffs, who were swordsmen, still continued the same as it was in several of the provinces of Germany, and on the frontiers of that empire. The estates of Orleans, convinced that the swordsmen could not confine themselves to the study of the law, took from them the administration of justice, and conferred it on the gownsmen, who were before only their lieutenants, or deputies. Thus they, who from their original institution had always been judges, ceased to be so any longer.

The famous chancellor de L'Hôpital had the principal share in bringing about this change, which was effected at the time of the nation's greatest weakness, and has since contributed to strengthen

the hands of the sovereigns, by dividing forever two professions which might, if united, have formed a powerful counterpoise to the authority of the ministry. Some have thought since, that the nobles could not preserve the charge of the laws intrusted to them; but they should reflect that the English house of lords, which is composed of the only nobles properly so called in that kingdom, is a fixed body of magistracy, who make the laws and administer justice. When we see these great changes in the constitution of a state, and observe other neighboring governments who have not undergone these changes in the same circumstances, we may evidently conclude that the manners and genius of these people must have been different from those of the former.

At this assembly of the general estates, it appeared how very faulty the administration had been. The king was indebted for over forty millions of livres; money was wanted, and there was none to be had; this was the true cause of the troubles of France. Had Catherine de Medici had wherewithal to purchase good servants, and pay an army, the different factions which distracted the state might have been easily kept under by the royal authority. The queen-mother found herself placed between the Catholics and the Protestants, the Condés and the Guises. Constable de Montmorency was at the head of a separate faction. Division reigned in the court, the city, and the provinces.

Catherine could only negotiate, instead of reigning. Her maxim of dividing all parties, that she might be sole mistress, increased the troubles and misfortunes of the state. She began by appointing a conference to be held between the Catholics and the Protestants at Poissy, which was subjecting the old religion to arbitration, and giving a great degree of credit to the Calvinist party, by setting them up as disputants against those who thought themselves rather entitled to be their judges.

At this time, when Theodore Beza and other Protestant divines came to Poissy, in order to maintain their doctrines in a public manner before the queen and a court who as publicly sang Marot's psalms, Cardinal Ferrara arrived in France as legate from Pope Paul IV., but being a grandson of Alexander VI., by the mother's side, he was more despised on account of his birth, than respected for his place and merit; insomuch, that his cross-bearer was insulted even by the lackeys of the court. Prints of his grandfather were fixed up in the public places through which he was to pass, with an account of the wicked and scandalous actions of his life. The legate brought with him one Lainez, general of the order of Jesuits, who did not understand a word of French, and disputed at the conference in Italian, which tongue Catherine de Medici had made familiar to the court, and it began to have a considerable influence on the French language itself. This Jesuit had the boldness to tell the queen at the conference,

that she had no right to call this assembly, and that in so doing she had usurped the pope's authority. Nevertheless, he disputed in this assembly which he found fault with, and said, in speaking of the eucharist, that God was in place of the bread and wine, like a king who makes himself his own ambassador. This childish comparison excited a smile of contempt, as his insolent behavior to the queen did the general indignation. Trifling things sometimes occasion great mischiefs; and in the situation of minds at that time, everything helped the cause of the new religion.

The consequence of this conference, and of the intrigues that followed it, was the issuing of an edict, in January, 1562, permitting the Protestants to have preaching places without the city, and this edict of pacification proved the source of the civil wars. The duke of Guise, though removed from his post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, still wanted to be its master: he was already connected with Philip II., and was looked upon by the people as the protector of the Catholic religion. The grandees in those times never travelled without a numerous retinue; and not as they do now, in a post-chaise with two or three footmen only; they were always attended by a hundred horsemen: this was all their magnificence, for three or four of them lay in one bed; and when they were in waiting at court, they had only a sorry apartment to live in, without any other furniture than a few chests. The

duke of Guise, as he was going through Vassy, a town on the borders of Champagne, came upon some Calvinists, who, in consequence of the privilege granted them by the edict, were singing psalms after their manner, in a barn. His servants fell upon and insulted these poor people, killed about sixty of them, and wounded and dispersed the rest. Upon this there was a general rising of the Protestants in almost every part of the kingdom, and the nation became divided between the prince of Condé and the duke of Guise. Catherine de Medici fluctuated between both; nothing was seen on all sides but killing and plundering. The queen was then at Paris with the king, her son, where, finding herself deprived of all authority, she wrote to the prince of Condé to come to her deliverance. This fatal letter was an order for continuing the civil war, which was prosecuted with the greatest inhumanity. Every town was a fortified post, and every street a field of battle.

On one side were the duke of Guise and his brother, united by convenience with the faction of Constable de Montmorency, who was master of the king's person: on the other, the prince of Condé, joined by the Coligny party. Anthony, king of Navarre, the first prince of the blood, a weak and irresolute man, who knew not of what religion or party he was; jealous of his brother Condé, and obliged to serve against his will the duke of Guise, whom he detested, was dragged to the siege of

Rouen, together with the queen-mother, Catherine de Medici; he was killed at this siege, and deserves a place in history on no other account than that of being father of the great Henry IV.

The war, which continued without interruption till the peace of Vervins, was carried on after much the same manner as in the times of anarchy, at the decline of the second race, and the beginning of the third. There were few regular troops on either side, excepting some companies of men at arms, belonging to the principal chiefs. Plunder was their only pay; and all that the Protestant faction could scrape together they employed in bringing over German troops to complete the destruction of the kingdom. The king of Spain on his side sent some few soldiers to the Catholics, in order to feed a flame which he hoped to turn to his own advantage, and thirteen Spanish companies marched to the relief of Montlu in Saintonge. These were, without contradiction, the most fatal times that the French monarchy had ever experienced.

The first pitched battle between the Catholics and the Reformed was fought near Dreux in 1562, wherein not only Frenchman engaged against Frenchman, but the royal infantry was chiefly composed of Swiss, as the Protestant army was of Germans. This battle was remarkable by both generals being made prisoners; Montmorency, who commanded the king's army in quality of constable, and the prince of Condé, who was at the head

of the reformed army. The duke of Guise, who was second in command to the constable, gained the battle, and Condé's lieutenant, Coligny, saved his army. The duke of Guise was then at the height of his glory; always victorious wherever he came, and always repairing the errors made by the constable, his rival in authority, but not in fame. He was the idol of the Catholics, and master of the court; he was affable, generous, and in every sense the first man in the kingdom.

In 1563, after his victory at Dreux, he laid siege to Orleans. This city was the centre of the Protestant faction, and he was on the point of reducing it when he was assassinated. The murder of this great man was the first which fanaticism had caused to be committed. These very Huguenots, who, under Francis I. and Henry II., thought of nothing but worshipping God and suffering what they called martyrdom, were now the most furious enthusiasts, and studied the Scriptures only to find out examples of assassinations. Poltrot de Meré imagined himself another Aod, sent from God to kill a Philistine chief. This is so true that his party made verses in his praise; and I myself have seen a print of him with an inscription extolling his crime to the skies. And yet his crime was that of a coward, for he pretended to be a deserter from the reformed party, and watched an opportunity to stab the duke of Guise in the back. He had the impudence to charge Admiral de Coligny and Theodore de Beza with hav-

ing at least connived at his design; but he varied so much in his depositions that he destroyed his own imposture. Coligny even offered to go to Paris to be confronted with this miscreant, and requested the queen to suspend the execution till the truth could be cleared up. It must be acknowledged that the admiral, though the leader of a faction, had never been guilty of the least action that could warrant a suspicion of such black treachery.

It was not sufficient that the Spaniards, Germans, and Swiss were called in to help the French destroy each other; the English were also sent for to join in the general ruin. Three thousand of them had been introduced by the Huguenots into Havre-de-Grâce, a seaport town built by Francis I., but Constable de Montmorency, who had been exchanged for the prince of Condé, after great difficulty drove them out again. These troubles were now succeeded by a momentary peace; Condé was reconciled to the court, but his brother, the admiral, still continued at the head of a powerful party in the provinces.

In the meantime Charles IX., having attained the age of thirteen years and one day, held his court of justice, not in the Parliament of Paris, but in that of Rouen; and it is remarkable that his mother, when she resigned her commission of regent, kneeled to him.

There was a scene on this occasion which is entirely without example: Odet de Châtillon, car-

dinal bishop of Beauvais, had, like his brother, changed to the reformed religion, and had taken a wife. The pope struck him out of the list of cardinals, and he himself expressed a contempt for the title; but, in order to brave the pope, he assisted at the ceremony in his cardinal's habit; his wife was allowed to be seated in presence of the king and queen, as the wife of a peer of the realm; and was sometimes called "the countess of Beauvais," and sometimes "the cardinal's lady."

France was full of absurdities equally great. The confusion of the civil wars had destroyed all kind of government and decency. The church livings were almost all in the possession of laymen; an abbey or a bishopric was given as a marriage portion with a daughter: but these irregularities, now grown customary, were all forgotten in the bosom of peace, the greatest of all blessings. The Huguenots, who were allowed the exercise of their religion, though they were still upon their guard, remained quiet; and the prince of Condé joined in the diversions of the court. But this calm was of short duration; the Huguenot party insisted on too many sureties, and the government granted them too few. The prince of Condé wanted a share in the administration; the cardinal of Lorraine, chief of a powerful and numerous house, aimed at holding the first post in the state; Constable de Montmorency, who was an enemy to this family, retained his power, and shared in the authority of the court;

the Coligny and other Huguenot chiefs prepared to oppose the house of Lorraine. Everyone strove to have a share in dismembering the state; the Catholic clergy on one side, and the Protestant ministers on the other, set up the cry of religion. God was their pretence; a thirst for rule, their God; and the people, intoxicated with fanaticism, were at once the instruments and the victims of the ambition of all these opposite factions.

The prince of Condé, who had attempted to rescue young Francis II. from the hands of the Guises at Amboise, now endeavored to get Charles IX. into his own power, and take the city of Meaux from Constable de Montmorency. This Louis of Condé made exactly the same war, with the same stratagems and on the same pretences — religion excepted — which his namesake, Louis the Great, prince of Condé, did afterward during the disputes of the League. On Nov. 10, 1567, the prince and the admiral fought the battle of St. Denis against the constable, who was mortally wounded, in the eightieth year of his age. He was a man equally intrepid at court and in the field, possessed of great virtues and great faults, unfortunate as a general, in disposition morose, capricious, and obstinate; but an honest man, and one of a noble way of thinking. It was he who said to his confessor: "Do you think that I have lived fourscore years to be at a loss to know how to die for one quarter of an hour?" His effigy in wax was carried, like those of

the kings of France, to the church of Notre Dame, and the members of the supreme courts attended his obsequies by order of the court; an honor which depends, as almost everything of this kind does, on the will of the prince and the circumstances of the times.

This battle of St. Denis was indecisive, and the kingdom was only rendered more miserable by it. Admiral de Coligny, who was the most fruitful in resources of any man in his age, sent into the Palatinate for nearly ten thousand Germans, though he had no money with which to pay them. It was now seen what religious zeal strengthened by party spirit is capable of doing. The admiral's army taxed itself to pay the Palatine forces. The whole kingdom was laid waste. It was no longer a war wherein one power assembles its forces against another, and gains the victory or is destroyed; there were as many different wars as there were towns; subject destroyed subject with the most bloody fury, and relative, relative. Neither the Catholic, the Protestant, the neutral, the priest, nor the mechanic went to bed in safety. The ground lay untilled, or was manured with sword in hand. A forced peace[1] was concluded in 1568; but every peace was only a smothered war, and every day was distinguished by murders and assassinations.

The war soon broke out again openly; and now

[1] It was concluded at Longjumeau, and called "the little peace," because it lasted only six months.

it was that Rochelle became the centre and principal seat of the reformed party, and the Geneva of France. This town is situated on the seacoast, is a flourishing republic, and was such at that time in some degree; for, after having been in possession of the kings of England ever since the marriage of Eleonora of Guienne with Henry II., it yielded obedience to Charles V. of France, on condition of being allowed to coin silver money in its own name, and that its mayors and sheriffs should be reputed noble. By these and several other privileges, together with an extensive trade, it had become tolerably powerful, and continued so till the time of Cardinal Richelieu. It was strongly supported by Queen Elizabeth; and its dominion at that time extended over Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, where was fought the famous battle of Jarnac.

The duke of Anjou, afterward Henry III., who was at the head of the royal army with the title of general, though Marshal de Tavannes was so in reality, won a victory on March 13, 1569. Prince Louis of Condé was killed, or rather murdered after his defeat, by Montesquieu, captain of the guard to the duke of Anjou. Coligny, who was still called the admiral, though no longer in that post, rallied the remains of the conquered army and made the victory useless to the royalists. Joan d'Albret, queen of Navarre, widow of the weak king Anthony, presented her son to the army, by whom he was

acknowledged as head of their party; so that Henry IV., the best of all our French kings, was, as well as Louis XII., a rebel before he ascended the throne. Admiral Coligny was the real head, both of the Huguenot party and of the army, and was like a father to Henry IV. and the princes of the house of Condé. He alone was the support of this unhappy cause: though in want of money, he kept an army on foot, found means to procure a supply of troops from Germany, though unable to pay them for their service; and, when defeated again at the battle of Moncontour in Poitou, by the duke of Anjou's army in 1569, he still repaired the losses of his party.

They had no uniform manner of fighting in those times. The German and Swiss infantry made use only of long spears, the French most commonly of muskets and short halberds; the German cavalry made use of pistols, and the French fought only with the lance. The strongest armies seldom exceeded twenty thousand men, nor could they afford to maintain a greater number. The battle of Moncontour was followed by a thousand skirmishes in the different provinces.

At length, after numberless desolations, a new peace seemed to promise the kingdom a breathing time; but this peace only prepared the way for the fatal massacre of St. Bartholomew. This dreadful day had been meditated and planned for over two years. It is hardly possible to conceive how a

woman like Catherine de Medici, brought up in the midst of pleasures, and to whom the Huguenot party had given the least umbrage of any, could have been capable of forming so barbarous a resolution. It is still more surprising in a young king, not quite twenty years of age. The Guise faction had a great share in this horrid enterprise. Two Italians, the cardinal de Birague and the cardinal de Retz, were those who disposed the minds of the people for it. They gloried at that time in adopting Machiavelli's maxims, especially that which teaches that no crime should be committed by halves. The best political maxim would have been not to commit any crime; but the manners of men had taken a ferocious turn from the continued civil wars they were engaged in, in spite of those pleasures and amusements with which Catherine de Medici always entertained the court. This mixture of gallantry and ferocity, of pleasures and slaughter, forms the oddest picture in which the contradictions of humanity were ever exhibited. Charles IX., who was not at all the soldier, was yet of a bloodthirsty disposition; and though he indulged himself with mistresses, he had a cruel heart. He is the first king who ever conspired against his subjects. The plot was laid with as deep dissimulation as the action itself was horrible. One thing alone might have given some suspicion; which was, that one day while he was diverting himself with hunting rabbits in a warren, he said to his attendants: "Drive

them all out, that I may have the pleasure of killing them all." Accordingly, a gentleman of Coligny's party left Paris in haste, and told the admiral at taking his leave that he was going to fly the place, "because," said he, "they make too much of us."

It is but too well known to Europe [1] how Charles

[1] The queen of Navarre was decoyed to Paris by a proposal of marriage between her son, who was afterward Henry IV., and the princess Margaret, sister of Charles IX., the reigning king. The same pretence was used for alluring thither Henry, then prince of Béarn, and his uncle, the prince of Condé. Admiral Coligny was invited by Charles, with a promise of declaring him general in a war against Spain in the Low Countries, and Coligny was accompanied by other chiefs of the Huguenots, depending upon the peace which had been lately ratified. The queen of Navarre died suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. The admiral, going home to his own lodgings about eleven in the forenoon, and reading a petition which had been presented to him, was wounded by a shot from a window, fired by one Maurevel, hired for the purpose. The king visiting him in the afternoon, expressed the utmost concern for his disaster, and assured him he would take ample vengeance of the assassin and his abettors. This perfidious prince had, with his mother and council, already projected the scheme which was now put in execution on the eve of St. Bartholomew. The duke of Guise, who was at the head of this shocking enterprise, communicated the king's intention to President Charron, intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards to arm the burghers privately: that at the alarm, which would be rung on the bell of the palace-clock, the citizens should place lights in their windows, then break into the houses of the Huguenots and put them all to the sword, without distinction. About midnight, the duke of Guise, accompanied by the duke d'Aumale, the grand prior of France,

IX. married his sister to Henry of Navarre in order to draw him into the snare, what oaths he made use of to gain his confidence, and with what cruelty he afterward executed those massacres which he had planned for two years before. Father Daniel says that Charles IX. was an excellent comedian, and played his part incomparably well. I shall not

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a number of officers, and three hundred choice soldiers, marched to the admiral's hotel, broke open the gates and entered the house. A colonel and two other desperadoes, going upstairs to the admiral's apartment, butchered him without question, and threw his body out of the window. All his domestics met with the same fate, while the trained bands acted the same tragedy in the Louvre, as well as within the city. Two thousand persons were massacred that night, and a great number perished next day. At the same time the Huguenots were sacrificed in like manner by orders from court at Meaux, Orleans, Troyes, Bourges, Angers, Toulouse, Rouen, and Lyons. The mangled body of the admiral was insulted by the populace, and hung upon the gibbet of Montfaucon. The young king of Navarre and his cousin, the prince of Condé, were closeted by the king, who told them that if they refused to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, they should not be alive in three days. The parliament being assembled, and informed by their sovereign of the steps he had taken, in consequence — as he said — of a conspiracy against the Catholics, the president, who was father of the celebrated historian, Thuanus, harangued in praise of the king's conduct; and the advocate-general proposed that the admiral and his accomplices might be proceeded against in form of law. Accordingly the murdered Coligny was tried, condemned, and hanged in effigy. In a word, this whole affair was one of the most infamous plans of perfidious cruelty that ever was executed, and leaves an indelible stain on the French nation.

repeat the circumstances attending this execrable tragedy, which are known to all the world, that one half of the nation butchered the other, with a dagger in one hand and a crucifix in the other, while the king himself fired from a window upon the unhappy wretches who were flying for their lives. I shall only note some few particulars; the principal is, if we believe the duke of Sully, Matthieu, and other historians, that Henry IV. had often told them that playing at dice with the dukes of Alençon and Guise some days before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, they saw, twice together, spots of blood upon the dice, upon which they quitted their game in the utmost consternation. Father Daniel, who has preserved this circumstance in his history, should have been well enough acquainted with physics to know that the black points, when making a given angle with the rays of the sun, will appear red; this is known to everyone who reads at all, and here was the whole of this surprising prodigy. There certainly was nothing miraculous in all this action, but that religious fury which made savage beasts of a people who have since been of so mild and airy a disposition.

Father Daniel also relates that when the dead body of Coligny was hanged upon the gibbet of Montfaucon, Charles IX. went to feed his eyes with this cruel spectacle, saying that the body of a dead enemy always smelled well. He should have added that this was an old speech of Vitellius, which has

been attributed to Charles IX. But what is most worthy of observation is, that Father Daniel would persuade us that these murders were not premeditated. Perhaps the time, place, and manner of the massacre, or the number of those to be proscribed might not have been concerted for two years before; but it is certain that the design of exterminating the party had been framed long before. The whole of Mézeray's account, who is a much better Frenchman than Father Daniel, and much superior as a historian in the last hundred years of the monarchy, will not permit us to doubt of it; besides, Daniel contradicts himself, when he praises Charles IX. for being so good a comedian, and acting his part so well.

The manners of men, and the spirit of a party disclose themselves in the way of writing history. Daniel contents himself with saying that at Rome they praised the king for his zeal, and the dreadful punishment he inflicted on the heretics. Baronius says that this action was necessary. The court gave orders for the same massacre in all the provinces of Paris; but several of the commandants of those provinces, as St. Herem in Auvergne, la Guiche at Maçon, the viscount of Orme at Bayonne, and several others, refused to obey, and wrote to Charles IX. nearly in these terms: that they would die for his service, but would not consent to murder anyone for him.

These were times of such horror and fanaticism,

or fear had taken such strong hold of all minds, that the Parliament of Paris ordered a procession every year on St. Bartholomew's day, to give thanks to God for the extirpation of the heretics. The chancellor de L'Hôpital was of a very different opinion when he wrote *"Excidat illa dies"*—"Let that day be forever erased." Accordingly there was no procession; and afterward they were shocked at the thought of preserving the remembrance of an action that ought forever to be buried in oblivion. But, during the heat of the affair, the court ordered the parliament to try the admiral after his death; and two gentlemen, his friends, Briguemaut and Cavagnes, were formally convicted and drawn upon a sledge to the Grève, together with the admiral's effigy, and there executed. Thus did they complete this horrid scene by adding the forms of justice to their inhuman massacres.

If there could be anything more deplorable than this massacre, it was that it proved the occasion of a civil war, instead of destroying the roots of these troubles. The Calvinists now determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. About sixty thousand of their brethren had been butchered in time of profound peace, and there still remained more than two millions ready to carry on the war. Fresh massacres now followed on both sides. The siege of Sancerre was remarkable. Historians tell us that the reformed defended themselves in that town as the Jews defended themselves in Jerusalem against

Titus; and like them were at last overpowered, after having suffered the same extremities, insomuch that a father and a mother were driven to make a meal upon their own child. The same is said to have happened in Paris, when that city was besieged by Henry IV.

In 1573, in the midst of these disasters, the duke of Anjou, who had acquired some reputation in Europe by the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, was elected king of Poland. He considered this dignity only as an honorable exile. He was called to reside among a people whose language he did not understand, who were at that time looked upon in the world as little better than barbarians, and who, though they were not so miserable, so devoured with fanaticism, or so distracted with factions as the French, were at the same time much less civilized and polished. The duke of Anjou's private appanage[1] was worth more to him than the crown of Poland; it amounted to one million two hundred thousand livres, and this distant kingdom to which he was going was so poor that in the diploma of election it was stipulated, as an essential clause, that the king should lay out these one million two hundred thousand livres in Poland. Accordingly he repaired with an ill will to take possession of his new dignity, and yet he seemed not to have much to regret in leaving France. The court he quitted

[1] Lands set apart for the maintenance of younger children of the royal family.

was a prey to as many dissensions as the state itself. Every day brought new conspiracies, real or imaginary, duels, murders, and imprisonments, without form or reason, and which were worse than the troubles which occasioned them. There were not so many illustrious heads brought to the scaffold as in England, but there were more private murders committed, and they already began to grow acquainted with poison.

Nevertheless, when the ambassadors of Poland came to Paris to pay their homage to Henry III., the court gave them a most brilliant and delicately imagined entertainment, in which the genius and talents of the nation shone through the midst of all these horrors and calamities. Sixteen ladies of the court, representing the sixteen principal provinces of France, after dancing a ballet, accompanied with machinery, presented the king of Poland and the ambassadors with gold medals, on which were engraved the productions peculiar to each province.

Henry had scarcely taken possession of the throne of Poland when Charles IX. died, at the age of twenty-four years and one month, after having made his name odious to all the earth, at a time of life when the subjects of his capital were not reckoned out of their minority. He died of a very extraordinary distemper: his blood oozed from all the pores of his body. This accident, which is not wholly without example, may have been caused by excessive fear, a violent transport of passion, or an

overheated and atrabiliary constitution; but it passed with the people, especially the Protestants, for the effect of divine vengeance — a useful notion, had it put a stop to the wickedness of those who are powerful, or unfortunate enough not to be subject to the curb of the laws.

The instant Henry III. heard of his brother's death, he fled from Poland as a man would fly from prison. He might have obtained the consent of the senate to have divided himself between that kingdom and his hereditary dominions, of which there have been many examples; but he hastened from that savage nation to seek in his own country a train of miseries and an end as fatal as had ever yet been seen in France.

He quitted a country where the manners of the people, though rough, were simple; and where ignorance and poverty made their lives gloomy, but at the same time preserved them from being stained with great crimes. The court of France, on the contrary, was a mixture of luxury, intrigues, gallantry, debauchery, plots, superstition, and atheism. Catherine de Medici, who was a niece of Pope Clement VII., had introduced a venality among all the places at her court, such as was practised at the pontiff's. Another invention which she imported with her from Italy was that of selling the king's revenues to certain farmers or purchasers, who advanced money upon them; an expedient which, though it may be useful for a

time, is attended with lasting danger. The superstitious belief in judicial astrology, enchantments, and witchcrafts were likewise fruits of her transplanting from her own country into France; for although the revival of the polite arts was in a great measure owing to the Florentines, yet they were very far from having any knowledge of true philosophy. The queen had brought over with her one Luke Gauric,[1] an astrologer, a man who at this time of day would be despised, even by the populace, as a wretched juggler; but was then looked upon as a person of great consideration. There are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious some of the constellated rings and talismans of those times; as is that famous medal in which Catherine is represented naked, between the constellations Aries and Taurus, with the name Ebulla Asmodea over her head, holding a dart in one hand and a heart in the other; and in the exergue, "*O ciel.*"

Never was the folly of witchcraft in so much credit as at that time. It was common to make figures of wax, which they pierced to the heart, pro-

[1] He was a native of Gefoni, in the kingdom of Naples, who had made great progress in mathematics and judicial astrology. He lived in high favor with Pope Paul III., who raised him to the bishopric of Cività Ducale. He is said to have predicted that Henry II. of France would be slain in a duel, or single combat. This prediction subjected him to the ridicule and contempt of the French court; but when it was verified, he came to be in great request with Catherine de Medici.

nouncing at the same time certain unintelligible words. By this they fancied they destroyed their enemies: nor were they in the least undeceived by the failure of success. One Cosmo Ruggieri,[1] a Florentine, being accused of having practised against the life of Charles IX. by these pretended spells, was put to the torture. Another of these magicians was condemned to be burned, who declared on his examination that there were over thirty thousand of the same profession in France.

These madnesses were accompanied with numberless acts of devotion, and these again were intermixed with the most abandoned debaucheries. The Protestants, on the contrary, who piqued themselves upon reformation, opposed the strictest severity of conduct to the licentious manners of the court. They punished adultery with death. Shows and games of all kinds were held in as much abhorrence by them as the ceremonies of the Romish Church, and they put the mass almost upon the same footing as witchcraft; so that there were two nations in France absolutely different; and there was the less

[1] By making horoscopes at the court of France he obtained the abbacy of St. Mabé, in Brittany. He was afterward sent to the galleys for having been in a conspiracy against Charles IX., but was soon released by the queen-mother. He composed philtres and almanacs, and after a long absence, appearing at the court of Henry IV., had the impudence to affirm that it was not he, but a certain gardener who had been condemned in the preceding reign. He lived to an old age, and, dying a professed atheist, was denied a Christian burial.

prospect of reunion, as the Huguenots had, ever since the massacre of St. Bartholomew, entertained a design of forming themselves into a republic.

The king of Navarre, afterward Henry IV., and Henry, prince of Condé, son of that Louis who was assassinated at Jarnac, were the heads of this party; but they had been detained prisoners at court ever since the time of the massacre. Charles IX. had offered them the alternative of changing their religion or suffering death. Princes who have seldom any other religion than that of interest do not often choose to encounter martyrdom. Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condé, then, had turned Catholics; but at the death of Charles IX. Condé found means to make his escape, and solemnly abjured the Romish faith at Strasburg: he afterward took refuge in the Palatinate, and made use of his credit with the Germans to procure aid for his party, in the same manner as his father had formerly done.

Henry III., on his return to France, had it in his power to settle matters in that kingdom; it was bathed in blood, it was divided on all sides, but it was not dismembered. It was still in possession of Pignerol, and the marquisate of Saluzzo, and consequently of all the ports of Italy. A few years of a tolerable administration might have healed the wounds of a nation where the land is fruitful and the inhabitants industrious. Henry of Navarre was still in the power of the queen-mother, Catherine

de Medici, who had been declared regent of the kingdom by Charles IX. till the return of the new king. The Huguenots desired only a protection for their religion and properties; and their scheme of forming a republic could never have prevailed against the royal authority resolutely exerted, and not carried to extremes. They might have been easily kept within bounds. Such at least were always the opinions and counsels of the wisest heads in the kingdom, such as the chancellor de L'Hôpital; Paul de Foix; Christopher de Thou, father of the authentic and eloquent historian; Pibrac, and Harlay; but the favorites, who thought to be gainers by a war, determined the king to prosecute violent measures.

No sooner was the king arrived at Lyons than with the handful of troops which had been sent to meet him he endeavored to storm those towns which, by a little politic management, he might have quietly reduced to their duty. He might have perceived that he had taken a wrong step, when, endeavoring to force a small town called Levron, sword in hand, they called to him from the top of the walls, "Draw near, assassins; come on, bloody murderers, you shall not find us asleep as you found the admiral."

He had not at that time money sufficient to pay the soldiers, who therefore disbanded of their own accord; and, happy in not being attacked upon the road, he went to Rheims to be consecrated, and from there to Paris to make his entry under these melan-

choly auspices, and in the midst of a civil war, which his presence had revived, whereas it might have stifled it. He could neither curb the Huguenots, content the Catholics, check his brother, the duke of Alençon, then duke of Anjou; manage his finances, nor discipline an army. He wanted to be absolute, and took no method of being so. He made himself odious by the shameful debaucheries in which he indulged himself with his minions. He rendered himself contemptible by his superstitious practices and his processions, by which he thought to throw a veil over his infamy, and which only tended to expose it the more. He weakened his authority by his extravagance at a time when he should have converted all his gold into steel. There was no police, no justice; his favorites were murdered before his face, or cut each other's throats in their quarrels. His own brother, the duke of Anjou, who was a Catholic, joined against him with Henry of Condé, who was a Huguenot, and brought a body of Swiss into the kingdom, while the prince of Condé entered it with an army of Germans.

During this anarchy, Henry, duke of Guise, son of the late duke Francis, a rich and powerful nobleman, chief of the house of Lorraine, in France, possessed of all his father's credit, idolized by the people, and feared by the court, obliged the king to bestow the command of the armies on him. It was to his interest to throw everything into con-

fusion, that the court might stand in need of his services.

The king demanded a sum of money of his city of Paris. He was answered that it had already furnished, within the last fifteen years, thirty-six millions extraordinary; that the country had been plundered by the soldiery, the city by the financiers, and the church by simony and bad conduct. In short, instead of supplies, he received only complaints.

In the meantime young Henry of Navarre escaped from court, where he had hitherto been detained a prisoner. They might have apprehended him again as a prince of the blood, but they had no right upon his liberty as a king; such he actually was, of Lower Normandy, and of the Upper by right of inheritance. He went to Guienne. The Germans, who had been called in by Condé, entered the province of Champagne. The duke of Anjou, the king's brother, was also in arms.

The devastations of the late reign were revived anew. The king then did by a shameful treaty what he should have done as an able sovereign at his first accession: he concluded a peace, and he granted at the same time much more than would have been demanded of him at first, namely, the free exercise of the reformed religion, with their churches, synods, and courts of justice; to consist of one half Catholics and the other half Protestants, in the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Aix,

Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes. He publicly disowned the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which he was but too deeply concerned. He exempted from taxes for six years the children of all those who were killed in that massacre; restored the memory of the accused Admiral Coligny to its honors; and, to complete his own humiliation, submitted to pay the German troops of the prince palatine, Casimir, those very troops who had forced him to conclude this peace. But not having money enough to satisfy them, he permitted them to live at discretion for three months in the provinces of Burgundy and Champagne. At length he sent the sum of six hundred thousand crowns to Cassimir by his envoy, Bellièvre, who is detained by that prince as a hostage for the payment of the remainder, and carried prisoner to Heidelberg, through which city Casimir orders the spoils of France to be carried in procession to the sound of trumpets, in open wagons, drawn by oxen with their horns gilded.

This low degree of infamy to which the king was sunk emboldened Henry, duke of Guise, to form the League which had been projected by his uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and to raise himself upon the ruins of a miserable and ill-governed kingdom. The state now teemed with factions, and Henry de Guise was formed for them. He is allowed to have had all the noble qualities of his father, with the most headstrong and designing ambition. Like him he enchanted all hearts; and it was said of the

father and son that in comparison with them all other princes appeared but as common men. He was extolled likewise for a generous and noble heart; but he gave no great proof of this when he trampled on the dead body of Admiral Coligny, which had just been thrown out of a window before his face.

The League was first set on foot in Paris. Papers were scattered among the citizens, containing a project of association for the defence of religion, the king, and the liberty of the state; or rather to oppress at once both king, state, and religion. The League was afterward solemnly signed at Péronne, and throughout the greater part of Picardy, and soon afterward the rest of the provinces acceded to it. The king of Spain declared himself its protector, and it received the sanction of the popes. The king, pressed between the Calvinists, who demanded additional privileges, and the Leaguers, who wanted to deprive him of his own, thought to strike a blow in politics by signing the League himself, for fear it should crush him, and declared himself its chief, which inspired the members of it with double boldness. He now found himself, against his will, obliged to break the peace he had concluded with the Reformers, without having any money to carry on a new war. He convoked a general assembly of estates at Blois, in 1576, but they refused to grant him the supplies he demanded for this war, though they themselves had forced him into it. He

could not even obtain leave to ruin himself by alienating his demesnes. However, he made shift to assemble an army by ruining himself in another manner, namely, by mortgaging the crown revenues and creating new posts. Hostilities were now renewed on both sides, which were followed by another peace. The king was desirous of having money and troops only that he might be in a condition of no longer fearing the power of the Guises; but as soon as the peace was concluded, he consumed his small resource in idle pleasures, feastings, and prodigalities with his favorites.

It was difficult to govern such a kingdom otherwise than by money or arms. Henry III. could scarcely procure either the one or the other. We shall now see what difficulty he had to procure in his greatest need, one million three hundred thousand francs of the clergy for six years, to get the parliament to verify certain money edicts, and with what eagerness this transient supply was devoured by the marquis d'O, comptroller of the finances.

Henry could not be said to reign. The Catholic League and the Protestant confederacy made war upon each other, in spite of him, in all the provinces of the kingdom. Epidemic diseases and famine were added to these scourges; and at this time of general calamity, in order to set up his own favorites against the duke of Guise, after having created Joyeuse and d'Épernon dukes and peers,

and given them precedence over their elder peers, he expended four millions on the marriage of the duke de Joyeuse with the sister of the queen. New taxes were now raised to defray these prodigalities: this excited the indignation of the public afresh. Had the duke of Guise not made a league against the king, his conduct was sufficient to have produced one.

At this time too, his brother, the duke of Anjou, goes into the Netherlands, which were afflicted with equal desolations, in pursuit of a principality, which he lost by his imprudent tyranny. As Henry III. permitted his brother to put himself at the head of the malcontents in Flanders, and endeavor to wrest the provinces of the Netherlands from Philip II., we may judge whether that monarch would support the League in France, which was every day gaining fresh strength. What then were the expedients which Henry thought fit to oppose to it? He instituted societies of penitents, he built monkish cells at Vincennes for himself and the companions of his pleasures: he made a show of worshipping God in public, while he committed the most unnatural acts in private; he went clad in white sackcloth, with a discipline and a string of beads hanging at his girdle, and called himself Friar Henry. Such conduct at once exasperated and emboldened the Leaguers. The pulpits of Paris publicly resounded with censures against his infamous devotion. The

faction of sixteen[1] was formed under the duke of Guise, and nothing of Paris remained to the king but the name.

Henry de Guise, now master of the Catholic party, had already procured troops with the money of his adherents, and he began to attack the friends of the king of Navarre. This prince, who, like Francis I., was the most generous cavalier of his time, offered to terminate this mighty difference by fighting the duke of Guise singly, or with ten against ten, or with any number that he should choose. He wrote to Henry III., his brother-in-law, remonstrating that the League was aimed much more against his crown and dignity than against the Huguenot party; he pointed out to him the precipice on which he stood, and offered to deliver him at the hazard of his life and fortunes.

At this very time Pope Sixtus V. fulminated that famous bull against the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, in which he calls them "the bastard and detestable race of the house of Bourbon," and declares them to have forfeited all right of inheritance and succession. The League made their own use of this bull, and obliged the king to prosecute his brother-in-law, who endeavored to assist

[1] The faction of the sixteen was a kind of particular league for Paris only, consisting of several persons, who were distributed in the sixteen wards of the town, and who had shared the administration of affairs among one another; they were staunch friends to the duke of Guise, and sworn enemies to the king.

him, and to protect and second the duke of Guise, who was dethroning him with respect. This was the ninth civil war since the death of Francis II.

Henry IV. — for we must already call him so, since that name is so famous and dear, and has become a kind of proper name — Henry IV. had at once upon his hands the king of France, Margaret, his own wife, and the League. Margaret, by declaring against her husband, revived the old barbarous times, when excommunications broke the ties of society, and made a prince execrable to his nearest relatives. Henry now showed himself the great man he was: he braved the pope, even in Rome itself, caused papers to be fixed up at the corners of the high streets, in which he gave Sixtus V. the lie, and appealed from his bull to the court of peers.

He easily prevented his imprudent wife from seizing Agenois, which she attempted to do; and as to the royal army which was sent against him under the command of the duke de Joyeuse, all the world knows how he defeated it at Coutras, where he fought like a common soldier at the head of his troops, took several prisoners with his own hand, and showed as much humanity and modesty after his victory as he had shown courage during the fight.[1]

[1] The duke de Joyeuse threw down his sword to two officers, and offered them one hundred thousand crowns for his ransom; but a captain called St. Herai, riding up

This day gained him more reputation than it brought him real advantages. His army was not like that of a king, which is kept in pay, and always ready for service; it was that of the head of a party, and had no regular pay. The officers could not prevent their soldiers from returning home to gather in their harvests, and were themselves forced to retire to their estates. Henry IV. has been accused of having lost the fruits of his victory by going to Béarn, to pay a visit to the countess of Gramont, of whom he was enamored. These people do not reflect that his army might easily have acted in his absence, could he have kept it together. Henry of Condé, his cousin, a prince whose manners were as austere as those of Navarre were gay and sprightly, quitted the army as well as he, and retired to his estate, after having remained some time in Poitou, as did all the rest of the officers, after solemnly swearing to reassemble again by November 20. Such was the method of making war at that time.

But the prince of Condé's stay at St. John of

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at that instant, shot him dead with a pistol. His brother, the marquis de St. Sauveur, also lost his life. The Catholics were totally routed, with great slaughter; but Henry, instead of improving his victory by advancing toward the Loire and joining his German auxiliaries, or by reducing the provinces of Saintonge, Angoumois, Poitou, and part of Anjou, where he would have met with little or no opposition, repaired to Béarn, to visit the countess of Gramont, at whose feet he laid all the standards which he had taken in the battle.

Angeli was one of the most fatal events of these horrid times. In January, 1588, after having supped with his wife, Charlotte de la Trimouille, at his return he was seized with convulsions, which carried him off in two days. The judge of St. John of Angeli by his own authority committed the princess to prison, examined her himself, entered a criminal process against her, condemned a young page named Permillac de Belle-Castel for contumacy, and sentenced Brillaut, the prince's *maître d'hôtel,* to be drawn asunder by four horses, in the town of St. John of Angeli, which sentence was afterward confirmed by commissioners appointed by the king of Navarre himself. The princess, who was with child, appealed to the court of peers, who declared her innocent, and ordered the proceedings against her to be burned. It may be necessary in this place to refute the story which has been repeated by so many different writers, that this princess was delivered of the great Condé fourteen months after her husband's death, and that the Sorbonne was consulted concerning the child's legitimacy. Nothing can be more false; it has been sufficiently proved that the young prince of Condé was born within six months after his father's decease.

If Henry of Navarre defeated the king's army at the battle of Coutras, the duke of Guise on his side, almost at the same time, routed an army of Germans, which was on the march to join Henry, in which action he gave proofs of

as great conduct as that prince had of courage. The unfortunate affair of Coutras, and the duke of Guise's reputation, proved two fresh subjects of uneasiness to the king of France. Guise, in concert with all the princes of his house, drew up a petition to the king in which they requested of him the publication of the Council of Trent, and the establishment of the Inquisition; that he would order the estates of all the Huguenots to be confiscated for the use of the heads of the League; that new places of security should be put into their hands; and that he would banish such favorites as they should name to him. Every article of this petition was a barefaced outrage on the royal authority. The people of Paris, and especially the cabal of sixteen, publicly insulted the king's favorites, and were even wanting in a proper respect to his own person.

But the real administration of the state at that time is best shown by a small circumstance, which proved the cause of that year's disasters. The king, in order to prevent the troubles which he saw were likely to arise in Paris, forbade the duke of Guise to enter that city. He wrote him two letters on this subject, which he ordered to be despatched by two couriers; but there being no money in the treasury to defray this necessary expense, the letters were put into the post, and the duke of Guise arrived at Paris with the specious excuse that he had not received the order. This occasioned the battle of the Barri-

cades.[1] It would be superfluous to repeat what has been said by so many historians relating to this affair. Everyone knows that the king quitted the capital and fled before his subjects, and that he afterward convoked the second assembly of estates at Blois, where he caused the duke of Guise and the cardinal, his brother, to be assassinated,[2] after hav-

[1] The king having introduced six thousand troops into the city of Paris, with a view to overawe and perhaps to seize the malcontents of that capital, the burghers, under the conduct and direction of the duke of Guise, or his followers, raised barricades in the streets as they advanced, firing on the king's troops, who, being obliged to abandon the city in disgrace, caused the king to think he was no longer safe at the Louvre, and fled to Chartres.

[2] When Henry, by the advice of his mother and a few counsellors, had resolved to assassinate the duke, he would have employed for this purpose, Crillon, colonel of the guards; but that gallant officer rejected the proposal with disdain. He told the king he was a gentleman, and not an executioner; but that if his majesty would allow him to challenge the duke, he would endeavor to kill him fairly in single combat. Henry expressed no resentment at this refusal, but enjoining Crillon to secrecy, made the same proposal to Loignac, captain of the band of Gascon gentlemen, and he readily undertook the office. The duke of Guise had repeated intimations of some design against his life: but he told his friends he was too far advanced to retreat; he observed that the king and he were like two armies facing each other, the first that turned would run the risk of a defeat. The day that preceded his death, he found at table a note under his napkin, assuring him there was a design against his life. Having perused this intimation, he wrote with his pencil on the same paper: "They dare not," and threw it under the table. On December 23, 1588, about eight o'clock in the morning, Revol, the secre-

ing taken the sacrament with them, and solemnly sworn upon the host to live in friendship with them forever.

The laws are held so respectable and sacred that had Henry III. only kept up the appearance of them, or if, when he had the duke and the cardinal in his power at Blois, he had, as he might have done, colored his revenge with the forms of justice, his reputation and his life might have been safe: but the murder of a hero and a priest made him execrable in the eyes of all the Catholics, without adding anything to his power.

And here I think I am bound to rectify an error which is found in many of our books, especially in the "State of France," a work which is frequently reprinted, and in which it is said that the duke of

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tary of state, told the duke of Guise that the king wanted to speak with him in his closet. He forthwith passed through the ante-chamber, and lifting up the hangings in order to enter the closet, was suddenly stabbed in six different places, by those individuals of the Gascon guard whom Loignac had selected for the purpose. He exclaimed: "Lord, have mercy upon me!" and falling dead on the floor, the king, who had with his own hands presented the daggers to the assassins, came out of the closet, and ordered the body to be covered with a carpet, then retired to wait till the rest of his orders should be executed. The cardinal of Guise, with archbishop of Lyons, being in the ante-chamber, and hearing the duke's expiring groan, ran out in great consternation; but their escape was prevented by the Scottish guard: they were confined to different apartments, and next day the cardinal was murdered by the king's order.

Guise was assassinated by the gentlemen in ordinary of the king's bedchamber; the orator Maimbourg also, in his "History of the League," pretends that Loignac, the principal of the murderers, was first gentleman of the bedchamber. All this is manifestly false. The registers of the chamber of accounts which escaped the fire, and which I have consulted, prove that Marshal de Retz and Count de Villequier were taken from the number of gentlemen in ordinary, to be made first gentlemen of the bedchamber, a new post created by Henry II. for Marshal de St. André. These same registers give the names of the gentlemen in ordinary of the bedchamber, who were then of some of the principal families of the kingdom. They had succeeded in the reign of Francis I., to the place of chamberlains, and these latter, to that of knights of the household. The gentlemen called "The Forty-five," who assassinated the duke of Guise, were a new body formed by the duke d'Épernon, and paid by the royal treasury on this duke's notes: and none of their names are found among the gentlemen of the bedchamber.

Loignac, St. Capautet, Alfrenas, Herbelade, and their accomplices were poor Gascon gentlemen, whom Épernon had provided for the king on this occasion. They were handy people, serviceable people, as they were called at that time. Every prince and great nobleman entertained one or more of these about him in those troublous times. They were men of this stamp whom the Guises had employed to

assassinate St. Megrin, one of Henry III.'s favorites. These practices were very different from the noble folly of ancient chivalry, and those times of generous barbarism, when all disputes were decided within lists by equal arms.

So strong is the force of opinion among men that those murderers, who made no scruple of assassinating the duke of Guise in the most cowardly manner, refused to dip their hands in the blood of his brother, the cardinal; and the contrivers of this bloody tragedy were obliged to employ four soldiers of the regiment of guards, who knocked him on the head with their halberds. Two days passed between the murder of the two brothers; this is an irrefragable proof that the king had time enough before him to have made some show of justice, if ever so sudden.

Henry III. was not only wanting in the artifice necessary on this occasion, but he was also wanting to himself in not hastening immediately to Paris with his army. And though he told Catherine de Medici, his mother, that he had taken all the necessary measures, he had provided only for his revenge, and not for the means of reigning. He remained at Blois uselessly employed in examining into the journals of the estates, while the cities of Paris, Orleans, Rouen, Dijon, Lyons, and Toulouse revolted at one and the same time, as it were by agreement. He was now looked upon as no other than an assassin and a perjured wretch. The pope excommunicated

him; and this excommunication, which at any other time would have been held in contempt, became now of the most dreadful consequence, as being joined to the public outcry for justice and seeming to unite both God and man against him. Seventy doctors of the Sorbonne in assembly declared him to have forfeited his crown, and his subjects released from their oath of allegiance. The clergy refused absolution to such of their penitents as continued to own him for king. The cabal of sixteen committed to the Bastille those members of parliament who are most devoted to his interest. The duke of Guise's widow appears to demand justice for the murder of her husband and brother-in-law; and the parliament, at the request of the procurator-general, appoints two of its counsellors, Courtin and Michon, to draw up an indictment against "Henry of Valois, heretofore king of France and Poland."

This monarch had acted so blindly through the whole of this affair that he had no army ready: he therefore sent Sancy to negotiate a supply of men from the Swiss, and had the meanness to write a letter to the duke of Mayenne, who was now at the head of the League, beseeching him to forget the murder of his brother. He likewise employed the pope's nuncio to speak to him; but Mayenne's answer was, "Never will I forgive this miscreant." The letters which mention this negotiation are still preserved at Rome.

At length he is obliged to have recourse to that

very Henry of Navarre, who was at once his conqueror and his lawful successor, and whom he should from the first moment of the forming of the League have taken for his support, not only as a person who was most interested in the maintenance of the royal dignity, but as a prince with whose generosity he was acquainted, who had a soul far superior to the rest of his contemporaries, and who would never have made an ill use of his presumptive right to the crown.

With the assistance of Navarre and the efforts of the rest of his party, he at length saw himself at the head of an army. The two kings now appear before the gates of Paris. It would be needless to recount how that city was delivered by the murder of Henry III. I shall only observe with President de Thou, that when the Dominican friar, James Clement,[1] a fanatical priest, who had been encouraged to this action by his prior, Bourgoin, and the rest of his

[1] This desperate fanatic obtained admittance to the king at St. Cloud by means of a letter with which he said he was charged by President de Harlay, one of his majesty's friends in Paris. While Henry perused this letter, Clement pulled a knife out of his sleeve, and stabbing his sovereign in the belly, left it sticking in the wound. The king drew it forth with his own hand, and wounded the assassin in the eye; but he was immediately despatched by the guards, who, hearing the noise, ran into the apartment, and the body was thrown out of the window. Henry expired next morning, after having declared the king of Navarre his successor. The council of sixteen, who governed Paris, in all probability knew of Clement's design;

convent, full of the spirit of the League, and sanctified, as he thought, by the sacrament which he had taken, came to demand an audience of the king in order to assassinate him, Henry felt a secret pleasure in seeing him approach, and declared that his heart danced within him every time he saw a monk. I shall pass over the detail of what passed in Paris and Rome on this occasion; with what zeal the inhabitants of the first of these cities placed the picture of the regicide on the altars, how the guns were fired at Rome, and the monk's eulogium publicly pronounced. But it will be necessary to observe that, in the general opinion of the people, this wretch passed for a saint and a martyr, who had delivered the people of God from a persecuting tyrant, on whom they bestowed no other appellation than that of Herod. This man had devoted himself to certain death; his superiors and all those whom he had consulted had commanded him in God's name to do this holy deed. His mind was in a state of invincible ignorance, and he had an inward persuasion that he was going to offer himself a sacrifice for God, the Church, and his country; in short, in the opinion of the divines, he was hastening to eternal happiness, and the king he murdered was eternally damned. This had been the opinion of some Cal-

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for that very morning they imprisoned a great number of persons who were known to have relatives in the king's army, that they might serve as hostages to save the life of the assassin, in case he should have been taken alive.

vinistic divines concerning Poltrot de Meré, and what the Catholics said of the murder of the prince of Orange; and I point out the spirit of the times more than the facts, which are sufficiently known.

CHAPTED CXLIV.

HENRY IV.

In reading the history of Henry IV. by Father Daniel, we are surprised at not finding him a great man. His character is but half drawn; there are none of those sayings which were the lively images of his soul, nor that speech which he made in the assembly of the principal cities of Rouen, and which is worthy of eternal memory; nor yet is any notice taken of the great good he did to his country. In short, Father Daniel's reign of Henry IV. consists only of a dry narrative of military operations, long speeches in parliament in favor of the Jesuits, and the life of Father Cotton.

Bayle, who is erroneous and superficial, when he treats of historical and worldly matters, as he is learned and solid in his logical writings, begins his article of Henry IV. by saying: "Had he been made a eunuch while he was young, he might have eclipsed the glory of Alexander and Cæsar." This is one of those things which he should have struck out of his dictionary; besides, his logic fails him in this ridiculous supposition, for Cæsar was much more addicted to debaucheries with women than

Henry IV. was, and we can see no reason why Henry should have surpassed Alexander. In fine, it is to be wished, for the example of kings, and the satisfaction of the people, that they would consult some better historian than Daniel, such as Mézeray's great history, Perifixe, and the duke of Sully, for what relates to the reign of this excellent prince.

Let us, for our private use, take a summary view of the life of this glorious prince, a life which was, alas! too short. He was from his infancy brought up in the midst of troubles and misfortunes. He was present at the battle of Moncontour,[1] when he was but fourteen years old. He was recalled to Paris by Charles IX., and married to that king's sister, only to see his friends murdered around him, to run the hazard of his own life, and to be detained nearly three years a prisoner of state. He escaped from his confinement only to undergo all the fatigues and vicissitudes of war; he was frequently in want of the common necessaries of life, a continual stranger to rest, exposing his person like the meanest soldier, performing actions which are hardly credible; witness that at the siege of Cahors in 1599, when he was five days successively under arms, and fighting from street to street, without

[1] Moncontour was fought Oct. 3, 1569, between the army of Charles IX., commanded by his brother, the duke of Anjou, afterward Henry III., and the Huguenots, under Admiral de Coligny; the latter were defeated with great slaughter.

taking a moment's rest. The victory of Coutras was principally owing to his courage, and his humanity after the victory was such as gained him every heart.

By the murder of Henry III. he became king of France; but religion served as a pretext for one-half of the chiefs of his army to desert him, and for the Leaguers to refuse to acknowledge him. They set up a phantom of a king in opposition to him, Vendôme, cardinal of Bourbon; and the Spanish monarch, Philip II., who had secured the mastery of the League by his money, already reckoned France as one of his provinces. The duke of Savoy, Philip's son-in-law, invaded Provence and Dauphiny. The Parliament of Languedoc forbade anyone to acknowledge him as king, under pain of death, and declared him "Incapable of possessing the crown of France, agreeable to the bull of our holy father, the pope."

Henry IV. had only the justice of his cause, his personal courage, and a few friends on his side. He never was in a condition to keep an army on foot for any length of time; and what an army his was! It hardly ever amounted to twelve thousand men complete; less than a corps nowadays. His servants took turns to follow him into the field, and left him again after a few months' service. The Swiss troops, and a few companies of spearmen, which he could with difficulty pay, formed the standing force of his army. He was obliged to run from

town to town, fighting and negotiating; and there is hardly a province in France where he did not perform some great exploits, at the head of a handful of men.

At first he fought the battle of Arques near Dieppe, with about five thousand men against the duke of Mayenne's army, which was twenty-five thousand strong; after that he carried the suburbs of Paris, and only needed more men to make himself master of the city itself. He was then obliged to retreat, and to storm several fortified villages in order to open a communication with those towns which were in his interest.

While he was thus continually exposed to fatigues and dangers, Cardinal Cajetanus arrived as legate from Rome, and in the pontiff's name quietly gave laws to the city of Paris. The Sorbonne constantly declared against his sovereignty, and the League reigned in the name of the cardinal of Vendôme, to whom they gave the title of Charles X., and coined money in his name, while Henry detained him prisoner at Tours.

The monks and priests stirred up the people, and the Jesuits ran from Paris to Rome and Spain, to excite factions against him. Father Matthew, who was called the courier of the League, labored to raise bulls and armies to distress him. The king of Spain sent one thousand five hundred spearmen, fully accoutred, making in all about four thousand horsemen, and three thousand of the old Walloon

infantry, under the command of Count Egmont, son of that Egmont whom this king had beheaded. Then Henry rallied the few forces he could get together, and at length found himself at the head of no more than ten thousand men. With this little army he fought the famous battle of Ivry, against the Leaguers, commanded by the duke of Mayenne, and the Spaniards, vastly superior in numbers, artillery, and all necessaries for a large army. He gained this battle, as he had gained that of Coutras, by throwing himself into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and confronting a forest of spears. His words will be forever remembered by posterity: "If you lose your colors, repair to where you see my white plume of feathers; you will always find it in the road to honor and glory." "Spare the lives of Frenchmen," cried he, when the victors were dealing death among the vanquished.

This victory was not like that of Coutras, where he had barely the superiority. He did not lose an instant in taking advantage of his good fortune. His army followed him with alacrity, and was reinforced on its march. But after all, he was able to muster no more than fifteen thousand men; and with this handful of troops he besieged Paris, in which there were at that time nearly two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants. It is beyond doubt that he would have reduced the city by famine, had he not, by an excess of compassion, per-

mitted his own troops to relieve the besieged. His generals in vain issued orders that no one, under pain of death, should presume to furnish the besieged with provisions; the very soldiers of his army sold them to them. One day when they were going to make an example of two peasants who had been detected in carrying two wagonloads of bread to one of the posterns of the city, Henry chanced to meet them on the way to execution, as he was visiting the quarters: they fell on their knees, and pleaded in excuse, that they had no other way of getting their livelihood: "Go your ways in peace," said the king, giving them all the money he had about him; "the Gascon is poor; had he more, he would give it you." A generous mind cannot refuse a few tears of admiration and tenderness on reading such passages.

While he was thus carrying on the siege, the priests were making continual processions clad in armor, with a musket in one hand and a crucifix in the other. The parliament, the supreme courts, and the citizens, took an oath on the Gospel, in presence of the legate and the Spanish ambassador, not to receive him for their king. But at length provisions began to fail, and the city suffered the most dreadful extremes of famine.

Philip sent the duke of Parma to the relief of Paris with a powerful army. Henry hastened to give him battle. Everyone knows the letters which he wrote to Gabriel d'Estrées — whose name has

been rendered so famous through him — from the field where he expected to come to an engagement: "If I die," says he, "my last thoughts shall be on my God, and the last but those on you." The duke of Parma did not accept the battle he offered him; he came only to relieve the city, and make the League more dependent on the king of Spain. To continue the siege with so few troops, in the face of so powerful an enemy, was impossible. Here then his successes were again retarded, and his former victories rendered fruitless. However, he prevented the duke of Parma from making any conquests; and, by keeping close to him with his little army as far as the frontiers of Picardy, he obliged him to return to Flanders.

No sooner was he freed from this enemy, than Pope Gregory XIV. made use of the treasures amassed by his predecessor, Sixtus V., to hire troops to send to the assistance of the League. The king had still the joint forces of Spain, Rome, and France, to encounter; for the duke of Parma, when he retreated, had left the duke of Mayenne behind him with an army of eight thousand men. One of the pope's nephews entered France with an army of Italians and letters of admonition, and joined the duke of Savoy in Dauphiny. Lesdiguières, who was afterward the last constable of France, and the last of the powerful French nobles, beat the duke of Savoy and the pope's armies. He, like Henry IV., made war with generals and soldiers who served

HENRY IV. AND GABRIELLE D'ESTRÉES

U.S. PATENT OFFICE

only once, and yet he defeated these regular troops. Everyone carried arms at that time in France, the peasant, the artificer, and the citizen; this ruined the kingdom, but at the same time it prevented its falling a prey to its neighbors. The pope's troops dispersed of themselves, after having committed such excesses as were till then unknown beyond the Alps. The country people burned the goats which followed their regiments.

Philip II., from his palace in Madrid, continued to feed this flame, by constantly supplying the duke of Mayenne with a little help at a time, that he might neither grow too weak nor too powerful, and by scattering his money through Paris in order to get his daughter, Clara Eugenia, acknowledged queen of France, with the prince whom he should choose to give her for a husband. With this in view he sent the duke of Parma again into France, when Henry was besieging the city of Rouen, as he had done during the siege of Paris. He promised the League that he would send an army of fifty thousand men into the kingdom, as soon as his daughter should be declared queen. Henry quit the siege of Rouen, and drove the duke of Parma again out of France.

In the meantime the faction of the sixteen, who were in Philip's pay, almost completed that monarch's scheme, and the ruin of the kingdom. They had caused the first president of the Parliament of Paris and two of the principal magistrates to be

hanged for having opposed their contrivances. The duke of Mayenne, who saw himself on the point of being overpowered by this faction, had caused four of them to be hanged in return. In the midst of these diversions and horrors, the states-general were convoked at Paris, under the direction of the pope's legate and the Spanish ambassador; the legate himself sat as president in the chair of state, which was left empty, to denote the place of the king they should elect. The Spanish ambassador also had a seat in this assembly. He harangued against the Salic law, and proposed the infanta for queen. The Parliament of Paris presented a remonstrance to the duke of Mayenne in favor of this law; but who does not perceive that this remonstrance had been previously concerted between the parliament and the duke? Would not the nomination of the infanta to the crown have deprived him of his office? and would not the proposed marriage of this princess with his nephew, the duke of Guise, have made him the subject of a person whose master he was desirous of remaining?

During the sitting of this assembly, which was as tumultuous and divided as it was irregular, Henry was at the gates of Paris, and threatened to reduce it. He had some few friends in the city, and there were several true citizens, who, wearied with their sufferings and the yoke of a foreign power, sighed for peace; but the people were still biassed by religion. The dregs of the people in this case

gave law to the nobles, and the wisest men of the nation; they were blindly led, and fanatic; and Henry was not in a position to imitate the examples of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth. It was necessary, therefore, to change religion, which is always disagreeable to a noble soul. The laws of honor, which ever remain the same among a civilized people, however other things may alter, always affix a kind of infamy to such a change, dictated by interest; but this was so great, so general a concern, and so connected with the good of the kingdom, that the best servants the king had among the Calvinists advised him to embrace a religion which they themselves detested. "It is necessary," said the duke of Sully to him, "that you should become a Papist, and that I should remain a Protestant." This was all that the League and the Spanish faction had to fear; the names of heretic and apostate were the principal arms they had against Henry, which his conversion would render useless.[1] It was necessary for him to be instructed

[1] In 1592 the king heard mass at St. Denis, and received absolution from the archbishop of Bourges, in consequence of which a truce of three months was proclaimed, to the no small mortification of the Leaguers; some of their preachers declaring from the pulpit that no credit was to be given to the king's conversion, though published by an angel from heaven. Their harangues instigated one Pierre Barrière, a waterman, to undertake the assassination of the king; but he was discovered by an honest friar, one Seraphin Branchi, whom he consulted about the means of execution. He was apprehended at Meulan, and, confess-

by the bishops, for form's sake; for in fact he knew more of the matter than those who pretended to instruct him. His mother had carefully brought him up in the knowledge of both the Old and New Testaments, with which he was perfectly acquainted; and all his conversations turned upon controversial points in religion, as well as upon war and love. Quotations from Scripture, and allusions to the sacred writings, formed what we call the *bel esprit* of those times; and the Bible was so familiar to Henry, that at the battle of Coutras, when he made one of the enemy's officers, named Château Renaud, prisoner with his own hand, he cried out to him in the Scripture phrase, "Yield, Philistine."

We may sufficiently perceive what he himself thought of his conversion, by his letter to the fair Gabrielle,[1] in which he says, "To-morrow is the day

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ing his intention, put to death. The king had a very narrow escape from the poniard of this desperate fanatic; for, having occasion one day to alight upon the road, he gave this Barrière his horse to hold, supposing him to be a peasant.

[1] This lady was daughter of Anthony d'Estrées, seigneur de Cœuvres les Soissons, master of the artillery, and a man of good character. He endeavored as much as lay in his power to prevent her amours with Henry, which began in 1591; but these endeavors were baffled by her own inclination, and the management of her aunt, Madame de Sourdis, who assisted the intrigue. Gabrielle is mentioned in history by the different names of Mademoiselle de Cœuvres, from her father's title; Madame de Liancourt, or de la Roche Guyon, on account of her marriage with Nicholas d'Amerval, seigneur de Liancourt, and de la Roche

that I am to take the adventurous leap. I believe these people will make me hate St. Denis as much as you hate ——." It is sacrificing truth to a false delicacy, to pretend, as Father Daniel does, that Henry IV. had been a Catholic in his heart long before his conversion. His conversion doubtless secured his eternal welfare, but it added nothing to his right to the crown.

In the conferences which he held, he made himself personally admired and esteemed by all who came from Paris to see him. One of the deputies, surprised at the familiarity with which his officers behaved toward him, who crowded about him so as hardly to leave him room; "You see nothing here," said he, "they crowd much more about me in the day of battle." In short, after having taken the city of Dreux before he had learned his new cate-

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Guyon; Marchioness de Monceaux, and Duchess of Beaufort, from the titles bestowed upon her by the king. Though she was a weak woman, she had gained an absolute ascendency over the mind of Henry, whom the love of this woman betrayed into a thousand dangers and indiscretions, that greatly prejudiced his character; she even aspired to the dignity of queen, although Queen Margaret was then alive; and he weakly countenanced this ambition. He even sent Monsieur de Sillery to Rome to solicit a divorce; and how far he might have carried his folly in this particular is not easily determined, had not death interposed and taken her off suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. By this lady Henry had two sons and a daughter, namely, Cæsar, duke of Vendôme; Alexander, grand prior of France, and Catherine Henrietta, who married Charles de Lorraine.

chism, having made his abjuration in the church of St. Denis, having been anointed at Chartres, and having taken care to keep up a good correspondence in Paris, where there was at that time a garrison of three thousand Spaniards, besides Neapolitans and *lansquenets;* he entered that city as its king, with fewer soldiers than there were foreigners on the walls to be spectators of his entry.

Paris had not beheld nor owned a king for above fifteen years. This revolution was brought about by two persons only, Marshal Frissac, and an honest citizen, whose name was less illustrious, though his soul was equally noble; this was a sheriff of Paris, named l'Anglais. These two restorers of the public tranquillity soon got the magistrates and the principal citizens to join with them. They had taken their measures so well, and so artfully imposed upon the legate, Cardinal Pellevé, the Spanish officers, and the faction of sixteen, and kept them so well within bounds, that Henry IV. entered his capital in 1594, almost without bloodshed. He sent all the foreigners home, though he might have made them prisoners, and pardoned all the Leaguers.

Several cities followed the example of Paris; nevertheless, Henry was still far from being master of the kingdom. Philip II., whose design had been always to make himself necessary to the League, had hitherto hurt the king but by halves, but now he injured him in more than one province. Deceived

in his expectation of reigning over the kingdom of France under his daughter's title, he now thought of nothing but dismembering it; and it seemed probable that this kingdom would have been reduced to a worse state than when the English were in possession of one-half of it, and particular nobles tyrannized over the other. The duke of Mayenne had Burgundy; the duke of Guise, son of Balafré, had Rheims, and a part of Champagne; the duke of Mercœur possessed Brittany; and the Spaniards, Blavet, which is now Port Louis. Even those who had been chief officers under Henry aimed at becoming independent: and the Calvinists, whose party he had quitted, fortified themselves against the Leaguers, and began to contrive means for resisting the royal authority. Henry was forced to recover his kingdom foot by foot, partly by intrigue and partly by force; and notwithstanding his being master of Paris, his authority was for some time so weak that Pope Clement VIII. continued to refuse him absolution, of which he would not have stood in need in less troublesome times. None of the religious orders prayed for him in their convents; and in short the Roman Catholic part of the populace were so possessed with the fury of fanaticism, that scarcely a year passed without some attempt against his life. He was continually employed in fighting against one or another head of a party, in subduing, pardoning, negotiating, and purchasing the submission of his enemies. Would

one think that it cost him two millions of the currency of those times to satisfy the claims of the grandees? and yet the duke of Sully's "Memoirs" prove it beyond contradiction; and that he punctually fulfilled all these pecuniary engagements when he came to the absolute and quiet possession of his kingdom, and might have refused to pay the price of rebellion. The duke of Mayenne did not make his peace with him till 1596. Henry was sincerely reconciled to him, and made him governor of the Isle of France. One day when he had wearied the duke in walking with him, he said, "Cousin, this is the only injury I will do you while I live;" in which he kept his word, as he did with everyone.

He at length recovered his kingdom, but in a poor and shattered condition, fully as bad as it had been in the reigns of Philip of Valois, John, and Charles VI. Several of the high roads were overrun with briars, and new paths struck out across the countries, which lay neglected and uncultivated. Paris, which at present contains over seven hundred thousand inhabitants, had not then more than one hundred and eighty thousand. The public finances, which had been dissipated under the reign of Henry III., were now only the remains of the blood of the people openly trafficked for between the officers of the treasury and the king's farmers.

The queen of England, the grand duke of Florence, the German princes, and the Dutch had lent him money to support himself against the League

and the courts of Rome and Spain. To pay these just debts, the general receipts and the demesnes were made over to the collectors of these foreign powers, who had the management of all the revenues of the state in the heart of the kingdom. Several chiefs of the League who had sold the king that fidelity they owed to him had also receivers of the public revenues in their name, and shared among them this part of the royal prerogative. Those who farmed these alienated dues, exacted three, nay four, times their value from the people, and what remained to the king were managed in the same manner; and at length when the general depredation obliged Henry to commit the whole management of the revenues into the hands of the duke of Sully, that minister, whose knowledge was equal to his integrity, found in 1596, that more than one hundred and fifty millions were collected from the people, to bring about thirty into the king's treasury.

Had Henry IV. been only the bravest, most merciful, most upright, and most honest man of his age, his kingdom must have been ruined. It required a prince who knew equally well how to make war and peace, who was acquainted with all the wounds of his kingdom, and the remedies to be applied to them; who was capable of attending to the most important and most trivial affairs, of reforming whatever was amiss, and of doing everything that could be done; all these qualifications met in Henry IV. To the policy of Charles the Wise, he added

the openness of Francis I. and the goodness of Louis XII.

To provide for all these pressing wants, and to carry on so many different negotiations and wars, Henry found it necessary to call an assembly of the chief men of the kingdom at Rouen; this was a kind of states-general. The speech he made to this assembly is still fresh in the memory of every good citizen, who is the least acquainted with the history of his own country. It is as follows:

"Already, by the blessing of heaven, the advice of my faithful servants, and the swords of my brave nobles, among whom I also include my princes, as the quality of gentleman is our fairest title, I have extricated this kingdom from servitude and ruin. I am now desirous to restore it to its ancient splendor; I invite you therefore to partake in this second glory, in like manner as you had a share in the first I have not called you together, as my predecessors have done, to oblige you to approve blindly of my will, but to receive your advice, to confide in it, to follow it, and to put myself entirely into your hands. Such an intention has seldom been found in kings. in conquerors, or in graybeards; but the love I bear to all my subjects makes everything possible and honorable to me." This eloquence, which flowed from the heart of a hero, far transcends all the boasted harangues of antiquity.

In the midst of all these toils and dangers, the Spaniards surprised the city of Amiens, which the

inhabitants attempted to defend. This fatal privilege, which belonged to them, and which they made so bad a use of, served only to subject their city to plunder, to expose all Picardy, and to give new courage to those who attempted to dismember the kingdom. Henry, at the time of this fresh misfortune, was in want of money, and in ill health; nevertheless he assembled a few troops, marched to the borders of Picardy, hastened back again to Paris, and writes a letter with his own hand to the parliaments and principal communities, "for necessaries to feed those who defended the state;" these are his own words. He goes in person to the Parliament of Paris: "Give me but an army," says he, "and I will joyfully lay down my life to defend you, and relieve the kingdom." He proposed the creation of new posts, in order to raise the speedy supplies that were wanting; but the parliament, looking upon these resources as an additional calamity to the nation, refused to verify the edicts, and the king was forced to issue several mandatory letters before he could procure means to lavish his blood at the head of his nobility.

At length by loans, and the indefatigable pains and economy of Rosny, duke of Sully, that worthy servant of so illustrious a master, he found means to assemble a fine army, which was the only one for more than thirty years that had gone to the field provided with all necessaries, and the first that had a regular hospital, in which the sick and wounded

were taken care of, in a manner to which they had hitherto been strangers. Before that every company had taken care of its wounded men as well as it could, and as many had been lost through the want of proper care as by the fortune of arms.

He now retook Amiens, in sight of the archduke Albert, and obliged him to retire. From there he hastened to suppress the troubles in other parts of the kingdom, till at length he saw himself master of all France. The pope, who had refused him absolution when he was but weakly established, granted it to him as soon as he saw him victorious. Nothing now remained but to make peace with Spain, which was concluded at Vervins; and this was the first advantageous treaty that France had made since the time of Philip Augustus.

He now employed all his endeavors to polish and aggrandize the kingdom he had conquered. He disbanded the useless troops, he substituted order and decorum in the public revenues, in the room of the hateful rapine which had hitherto prevailed in them. He paid off the debts of the crown by degrees, and without stripping the people. The peasants to this day repeat a saying of his, which, though trifling in itself, shows a fatherly tenderness, that he wished "they had a chicken in the pot every Sunday." He made an improvement in the administration of justice, and, what was still more difficult, he brought the two religions to live peaceably with each other, at least in appearance. Commerce and

the arts were held in esteem. The manufactories for gold and silver stuffs, which had been forbidden by a sumptuary edict, in the beginning of a troublesome and necessitous reign, were now revived with double lustre, and enriched the city of Lyons and all France. He also established manufactories for raised work in tapestry, both of woollen and silk, interwoven with gold. And they began to make small plate glasses, after the manner of those at Venice. It was to him alone that the nation was indebted for its silk-worms, and the planting of mulberry trees, against the opinion of the great Sully, who excelled in his faithful and expert management of the finances, but was no friend to innovations. Henry also caused the canal of Briare to be dug, by which the river Seine is joined to the Loire. He beautified and enlarged the city of Paris, made the king's square, and repaired all the bridges. The suburb of St. Germain did not at that time join the city, and was not paved; the king undertook to do this, and built that beautiful and noble bridge where the people still behold his statue with an affectionate remembrance. He enlarged, and in a manner rebuilt, the royal palaces of St. Germain, Monceaux, Fontainebleau, and the Louvre, particularly the latter; and appointed apartments in the long gallery of the Louvre, which he built himself, for artists in all branches, whom he not only encouraged by his protection, but frequently rewarded. Lastly, he was the real founder of the royal library.

When Don Pedro of Toledo was sent as ambassador to Henry by Philip III., he hardly knew the city, which he had formerly seen in so unhappy and languishing a condition. "The reason is," said Henry to him, "that at that time the master of the family was absent, but now that he is at home to take care of his children, they thrive and do well."

The gayeties and diversions which had been introduced at court by Catherine de Medici, in the midst of the troubles, were under Henry IV. the ornaments of a peaceful and happy reign.

By rendering his own kingdom thus flourishing, he became the arbiter of others. The popes never imagined, in the time of the League, that the Gascon would one day become the pacificator of Italy, and a mediator between them and the state of Venice, and yet Paul V. was very glad to apply to him for assistance to extricate him from the unadvised step he had taken in excommunicating the doge and senate of Venice, and laying the whole republic under an interdict, on account of certain lawful rights which the senate maintained with its accustomed vigor. Henry was made arbiter in this dispute; and he whom the popes had excommunicated now obliged them to take off the excommunication from Venice. [1]

[1] Father Daniel relates a particular circumstance which appears very extraordinary, and which is related by no other author. He says that Henry IV., after having reconciled the pope and the republic of Venice, spoilt the agreement himself by communicating to the pope's nuncio at Paris, an intercepted letter of a minister of Geneva, in

He protected the infant republic of Holland, supplied it with money from his private purse, and contributed not a little in making the court of Spain acknowledge it a free and independent state

His reputation was now established at home and

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which this minister boasts that the doge of Venice and several of the senators were Protestants in their hearts, and only waited for a favorable opportunity of declaring themselves; that Father Fulgentio, of the Order of the Servites, the companion and friend of the famous Sarpi, so well known by the name of Fra Paolo, "labored with much success in this vineyard." He adds, that Henry IV. ordered his ambassador to show this letter to the senate, only striking out the doge's name. But after Daniel has related the substance of this letter, in which Fra Paolo's name is not to be found, he says that this Fra Paolo was mentioned and accused in the copy of the letter shown to the senate. He does not name the minister who wrote this pretended intercepted letter. It is likewise to be observed that the Jesuits, who had been banished from the republic of Venice, are concerned in this letter. In short, Father Daniel makes use of this story, which he ascribes to Henry IV., as a proof of that prince's zeal for the Catholic religion. It would have been an odd zeal in Henry to throw dissension into the midst of the Venetian senate, who were his best allies, and to unite the despicable part of an incendiary with the glorious one of a peacemaker. It is very possible that there might be a real or fictitious letter from a Genevan minister, and that this letter produced some little intrigues quite foreign to the great objects of history; but it is not in the least probable that Henry IV. would have descended to the meanness which Daniel pretends to honor him for; adding: "Whosoever has connections with heretics is either of their religion, or of no religion at all." This odious reflection is even against Henry IV., who had the most connections with the reformed of any man of his time. It is to be

abroad, and he was esteemed the greatest man of his age. The emperor Rudolph was famous only among philosophers and chemists. Philip II. had never fought a battle, and was after all only an indefatigable, gloomy, and dissembling tyrant; and his prudence was by no means to be compared with the courage and openness of Henry IV., who with all his vivacity was as deep a politician as himself. Elizabeth had acquired a great reputation; but not having had the same difficulties to surmount, she could not challenge the same glory. That which she really deserved was dimmed by the double dealings with which she was accused, and stained by the blood of Mary, Queen of Scots, which could never be washed away. Sixtus V. had raised himself a name by the obelisks he had caused to be raised, and the noble monuments with which he beautified Rome. But exclusive of this merit, which is far from being of the first rank, he would never have been known to the world otherwise than for having obtained the pontificate by fifteen years of continual falsity, and a severity which even bordered upon cruelty.

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wished that Father Daniel had entered more minutely into the administration of Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, rather than have descended to all these trifling circumstances, which show more partiality than equity, and unfortunately disclose the author to be more of a Jesuit than a citizen. The count of Boulainvilliers is much in the right when he says that it is almost impossible that a Jesuit should ever write a good history of France.

Those who still reproach Henry so bitterly on account of his amours do not reflect that his weaknesses were those of the best of men, and that they never prevented him from attending to the good government of his kingdom. This he gave sufficient proofs of when he made preparations for acting as the arbiter of Europe, in the affair relating to the succession of Juliers. It is a ridiculous calumny in Le Vassor, and some other compilers, to assert that Henry engaged in this war only on account of the young princess of Condé: we should rather believe the duke of Sully, who candidly owns the weaknesses of this monarch, and at the same time proves that the king's great designs had not the least connection with any love affair. It certainly was not on the princess of Condé's account that Henry made the treaties of Quierasque, secured all the Italian powers, and the Protestant princes of Germany in his interest, and proposed to put the finishing hand to his glory, by holding the balance of Europe.

He was ready to march into Germany at the head of forty thousand men. He had forty millions in reserve, immense preparations, sure alliances, skilful generals trained under himself; the Protestant princes of Germany, and the new republic of the Netherlands ready to second him; everything seemed to promise certain success. The pretended division of Europe into fifteen principalities is known to be an

idle chimera that never entered his head.[1] If he had ever entered upon a negotiation relating to so extraordinary a design, we should have found some traces of it either in England, in Venice, or in Holland, with whom it is supposed that Henry concerted matters for this revolution; but there is no such thing, and this project is neither true nor likely: but by his alliances, his arms, and his economy, he was on the point of altering the system, and of

[1] If we may believe the duke de Sully, it certainly entered his head, and was the object of his perpetual meditation. He imagined that the states of Europe might be united into a kind of Christian commonwealth, the peace of which might be maintained by establishing a senate by which all differences should be determined; and he conceived that such a confederacy might easily overturn the Ottoman power. The number of the states to be thus united was fifteen, namely, the papacy, the empire of Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, Great Britain, Bohemia, Lombardy, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, the republic of Venice, the States-General, the Swiss cantons, and the Italian commonwealth, to consist of Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Modena, Parma, Mantua, and Monaco. In order to reduce these states to a sort of political equality, he proposed that the empire should be given to the duke of Bavaria, Naples to the pope, Sicily to the Venetians, Milan to the duke of Savoy, who should become king of Lombardy; the Austrian Low Countries to the Dutch; Franche-Comté, Alsace, and the country of Trent to the Swiss. After all, this was a visionary scheme, which could not have been executed without involving all Europe in war and confusion; for howsoever well it might have been relished by those states who were to be gainers by it, it must have been obstinately opposed by all the powers that were to be dismembered, especially the house of Austria, which Henry, without all doubt, intended to crush.

rendering himself the arbiter of Europe. In a word, he completed the career of his glory.

Were we to give this faithful description of Henry IV. to a stranger of good understanding, who had never heard him spoken of before, and to conclude by telling him, that this is the man who was assassinated in the midst of his people, and whose life had been several times attempted, and that by men to whom he had never done the least injury, he would not believe it.

It is a very deplorable thing that the religion which enjoins the forgiveness of injuries should have occasioned so many murders to be committed, and this only in consequence of the maxim that all who think differently from us are in a state of reprobation, and that we are bound to hold such in abhorrence.

It is still more strange that the Catholics did not conspire against the life of this excellent king till after he became a Catholic. The first who made an attempt upon his life at the very time that he was making his abjuration at St. Denis, was a wretch from the dregs of the people, named Pierre Barrière. He had some scruples when the king had made his abjuration; but was confirmed in his design by a few of the most furious of the Leaguers, namely, Aubri, curate of St. Andrew des Arts, a Capuchin friar, a regular priest, and Varade, rector of the Jesuits' college. The famous Stephen Paquier, advocate-general of the chamber of accounts,

declares that he was informed from the mouth of this Barrière himself, that he had been encouraged to this action by Varade. This accusation receives an additional degree of probability from the flight of Varade and Aubri, who took refuge at the cardinal legate's, and accompanied him when he returned to Rome, at the time that Henry IV. entered Paris. And what renders this probability still more strong is that Varade and Aubri were afterward quartered in effigies by an edict of the Parliament of Paris, as we find related in the journal of Henry IV. Father Daniel uses unpardonable endeavors to exculpate Varade; whereas, the curates take no pains to justify the unwarrantable violence of the curates of those times. The Sorbonne acknowledges the detestable decrees it issued; the Dominicans still agree that their brother Clement assassinated Henry III. and that he was instigated to this murder by the prior, Burgoin. Truth is superior to every consideration and regard, and it is the voice of truth that no churchman of the present time is obliged to answer for or blush at the bloody maxims and barbarous superstition of his predecessors, since there is not one of them who does not hold them in abhorrence; it only preserves the remembrance of these crimes, to the end that they may never be imitated.

So universal was the spirit of fanaticism at that time, that a weak Carthusian friar, named Ouin, was persuaded that he should gain a quicker admittance into heaven by murdering Henry IV. This

unhappy wretch was shut up in a madhouse by his superiors. In the beginning of 1599, two Jacobin friars of Flanders, the one named Arger, and the other Ridicovi, originally of Italy, resolved to revive the action of their brother, James Clement; the plot was discovered, and their lives paid the forfeit of a crime they did not commit. Their punishment did not deter a Capuchin friar of Milan, who came to Paris with the same design, and was hanged like them.

The attempt made by John Châtel is the strongest proof we can have of the mad spirit which reigned at that time; born of an honest family, of rich parents, who brought him up well, young, and void of experience in the world, not having quite attained his nineteenth year, it was impossible that he should have formed this desperate resolution of himself. We know that he wounded the king with a knife, in the Louvre, but struck him only on the mouth, because this good prince, who had a custom of embracing all his servants whenever they came to pay their court to him after a long absence, was at that time stooping to embrace Montigni.[1]

[1] The blow was struck with such force as to knock out one of the king's teeth, though it was certainly intended for his throat. Count de Soissons, who stood by the king, perceiving a young man change color and endeavor to escape, laid hold of him, saying: "Friend, either you or I have wounded the king." He was the son of Peter Châtel, a rich draper, a person of very weak intellect, driven to a kind of religious despair.

He persisted at his first examination, that he had done a meritorious action, and that the king not having yet received absolution from the pope, he might kill him with a safe conscience. This alone is sufficient to prove that he was seduced to commit this crime.

He had long been a student in the Jesuits' college. Among all the dangerous superstitions of those times, there was one very well calculated to delude minds; this was the meditating chamber, in which a young man was shut up; the walls were painted with figures of devils, torments, and flames, and lighted with a dim taper: weak and susceptible imaginations have frequently been struck with these horrors even to madness; and it was with this kind of madness that the unhappy wretch we have mentioned was seized, and thought that he would redeem his soul from hell by assassinating his sovereign.

It is beyond doubt that the judges would have been wanting in their duty had they neglected to examine the Jesuits' papers, especially after John Châtel had owned that he had often heard it said among these monks that it was lawful to kill the king.

They found among the papers of Professor Guignard, these words, written with his own hand: "Neither Henry III., Henry IV., Queen Elizabeth, the king of Sweden, nor the elector of Saxony, are real kings; Henry III. is a Sardanapalus; the Gascon, a fox; Elizabeth, a she-wolf; the king of

Sweden, a griffin; and the elector of Saxony, a hog." This was called eloquence. "James Clement," adds this writer, "did a heroic action, and was inspired by the Holy Ghost. If war can be made upon the Gascon, make war upon him, if not, let him be assassinated."

It is very strange that Guignard had not burned this writing the moment that he heard of Châtel's attempt. They apprehended his person, and that of Gueret, professor of an absurd science they called philosophy, and of which Châtel had long been a student. Guignard was hanged, and afterward burned; and Gueret having made no confession when put to the torture, was only condemned to be banished the kingdom, together with all the rest of the Jesuits.

Prejudice must certainly draw a very tight bandage over the eyes of men since the Jesuit Jouvenci, in his history of the Company of Jesus, compares Guignard and Gueret "to the primitive Christians who were persecuted by Nero." He particularly praises Guignard for refusing to ask pardon of the king and the court, when he performed the *amende honorable,* with a lighted taper in his hand, with his writings pinned upon his back. He represents Guignard as a martyr, who asks forgiveness of God, because after all he might still be a sinner; but who, notwithstanding the dictates of his conscience, would never acknowledge that he had offended the king. How could he have offended him more than by

declaring in writing that he ought to be murdered, unless he had murdered him himself? Jouvenci considers the arret of the parliament as a most iniquitous sentence. *"Meminimus,"* says he, *"et ignoscimus"*—"We remember it, but we forgive it." It is certain that the sentence was severe, but doubtless it cannot appear unjust, if we consider the writings of the Jesuit Guignard, the furious outbursts of another Jesuit named Hay, the confession of John Châtel, the writings of Toletus, Bellarmin, Mariana, Emanuel Sa, Suarez, Salmeron, Molina, the letters of the Jesuits of Naples, and the number of other writings in which this wicked doctrine of king-killing is found. It is true that Châtel had not been advised by any of the Jesuits; but it is likewise as true, that while he was a student among them, he had heard this doctrine, which was at that time too common.

How can the banishment of the Jesuits in these times be looked upon as so very unjust, when no complaint is made of the treatment of the father and mother of John Châtel, who were guilty of no other crime than that of having brought into the world an unhappy creature, whose understanding had been perverted? These unhappy parents were condemned to be banished and do penance; their house was levelled to the ground, and a pillar erected on the place where it stood, with the crime and sentence engraved on it, and where it is said that the court has forever banished this society of a new kind and

a devilish superstition, which had instigated John Châtel to this horrid crime. It is further worthy of observation, that the arret of the parliament was inserted in the Roman index. All this demonstrates that these were times of fanaticism; that if the Jesuits had, in common with others, taught these dreadful maxims, they appeared more dangerous than others, because they had the education of youth; that they were punished for past faults, which three years before had not been considered as faults in Paris; and lastly, that the unhappiness of those times rendered this arret of the parliament necessary.

These dreadful examples, however, did not destroy the spirit of the League, and Henry IV. at length fell a victim to it. Ravaillac had for some time been a mendicant friar, and his mind was still heated with what he had heard in his youth. Never did superstition in any age produce such dreadful effects. This unhappy wretch thought exactly as John Châtel had done, that he would divert the wrath of God by murdering Henry IV. The people said that the king was going to make war upon the pope, because he was going to assist the Protestants in Germany. Germany was at that time divided by two leagues, the one called the Evangelical, which was composed of almost all the Protestant princes, and the other the Catholic, at the head of which they had put the pope's name. Henry protected the Protestant League; this was the sole cause of his being

murdered: for we must credit the constant deposition of Ravaillac. He declared, without ever varying, that he had no accomplice, and that he had been urged to this action by an instinct which he could not overcome. He signed his deposition, of which some sheets were afterward found in 1720 by a secretary of the parliament, and which I have seen: his abominable name is distinctly written, and under it in the same hand, this distich:

Que toujours dans mon cœur
Jesus soit le vainqueur.

Forever in my heart
Let Christ have the first part.

This is a fresh proof that this monster was no other than a furious madman; and it is a great instance of the force of destiny, that France should have been deprived of Henry IV., and the state of Europe changed by such a man. Some have dared to impute this crime to the house of Austria; others to Mary de Medici, the king's consort; to Balzac d'Entragues, his mistress, and to the duke d'Épernon; these invidious insinuations, which Mézeray and others have copied without properly examining, destroy one another, and serve only to show the great credulity of human malice.

Ravaillac[1] was only the blind instrument of the

[1] This infamous miscreant had for some time followed the king in his excursions, in quest of an opportunity to perpetrate his horrid purpose. That very morning he

spirit of the times equally blind. Barrière, Châtel, Ouin the Carthusian, and the vicar of St. Nicholas

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intended to have stabbed him at the Feuillans, where he went to hear mass, but was hindered by the interposition of the duke de Vendôme. After dinner the king appeared extremely uneasy, and, leaning his head upon his hand, was heard to say softly: "My God! what is this that will not suffer me to be quiet?" About four in the afternoon he went into his coach with the duke d'Épernon, the duke de Montbazon, the marquis de la Force, the marquis de Mirabeau, Messieurs de Ravardin, Roquelaur, and Liancourt, and ordered the coachman to drive to the cross of Tiroy. Thence it proceeded to the churchyard of St. Innocent; then turning into the Rue de la Ferronière, which was very narrow, there was a stop, occasioned by two loaded carts. The king had sent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might see the preparations for the queen's entry: all the pages had gone round another way except two, one of whom went before to clear the way, while the other stopped behind to tie up his garter. Ravaillac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to perpetrate his shocking purpose. He mounted on the coach wheel, and with a long knife, sharp on both sides, struck the king over the shoulder of the duke d'Épernon. Henry exclaiming, "I am wounded," the assassin repeated the blow with greater force, and the knife penetrated the thorax, divided the vena cava, so that the king expired immediately. Ravaillac was not seen by any person while he performed this atrocious murder; and if he had thrown down the knife under the coach, he might have escaped unnoticed: but he stood on the wheel like a statue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up, would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Épernon called aloud: "Save him on your life," and the miscreant was taken alive. Everybody knows the nature of the torments to which this desperate fanatic was subjected.

des Champs hanged in 1595, a tapestry weaver in 1596, a wretch who was, or pretended to be mad, and others whose names have escaped my memory, all attempted the same murder; they were all young, and all of the dregs of the people; so much does religion become fury in the minds of the common people and youth. Of all the assassins which this horrible age produced, only Poltrot de Meré [1] was a gentleman.

CHAPTER CXLV.

FRANCE UNDER THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII. TILL THE ADMINISTRATION OF CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU — STATES-GENERAL HELD IN FRANCE — MISFORTUNES IN THE ADMINISTRATION — MARSHAL D'ANCRE ASSASSINATED; HIS WIFE CONDEMNED TO BE BURNED — ADMINISTRATION OF THE DUKE DE LUINES — CIVIL WARS — HOW CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU CAME INTO THE COUNCIL.

After the death of Henry IV. [2] it was seen how much the power, credit, manners, and spirit of a nation frequently depend upon a single man. This

[1] The Protestant fanatic who assassinated the duke of Guise at the siege of Orleans, in the year 1563.

[2] This great prince often expressed his desire of accomplishing ten things, which were called his ten wishes: God's grace and assistance; the preservation of his senses to the hour of his death; the security of the Protestant religion; a divorce from his first wife, Margaret, with whom he lived unhappily; the restoration of the ancient

prince had by a vigorous yet gentle administration, kept all orders of the state in union, lulled all factions to sleep, maintained peace between the two religions, and kept his people in plenty. He held the balance of Europe in his hands by his alliance, his riches, and his arms. All these advantages were lost in the very first year of the regency of his widow, Mary de Medici. The duke d'Épernon, the haughty minion of Henry III., the secret enemy to Henry IV., and the declared one of his ministers, went to the parliament the very day that Henry was assassinated. Épernon, as colonel-general of the infantry, had the command of the regiment of guards; he entered the assemblies with his hand on his sword, and obliged the parliament to assume to itself the right of disposing of the regency, a right which till then had belonged only to the states-general. It has been an established law in all nations that those who have a right to nominate a person to fill the throne when vacant, have likewise that of appointing the regency. To make a king is the first of all rights; to appoint a regent is the second, and this supposes

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splendor of France; the recovery of Navarre, Flanders, or Artois, from Spain; a victory gained in person over the Catholic king, and another against the grand seignior; the reduction of his Protestant subjects to obedience, without having recourse to violence; the humiliation of the dukes d'Épernon, Bouillon, and Trimouille, so that they should implore his clemency; and finally, the execution of his grand design.

the first. The Parliament of Paris then tried the cause of the vacant throne, and disposed of the supreme power, by being forced to it by the duke d'Épernon, and because there had not been time to assemble the three orders of the state.

It published an arret, declaring Mary de Medici sole regent. The next day the queen came to have the decree confirmed in presence of her son; and Chancellor de Sillery, in that ceremony which is called the bed of justice,[1] took the opinions of the presidents before that of the peers, and even the princes of the blood, who pretended to a share in the regency.

You see by this, and you may have frequently remembered, how rights and customs are established, and how what has been once solemnly done contrary to the ancient rules, becomes itself a rule thenceforward, till some future occasion causes it to be laid aside.

Mary de Medici thus appointed regent, in 1610, though not mistress of the kingdom, lavished in making of creatures all that Henry the Great had

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[1] When the king of France goes to parliament to hold a bed of justice, the different chambers assemble in their red robes, with scarlet copes, the presidents having their mantles and copes of scarlet, with their caps called mortiers. The king is seated upon a throne under a canopy of blue velvet, powdered with golden fleurs-de-lis. The first president begins his harangue on his knees; but the king bids him rise, and allows him to speak standing. The same ceremony is observed toward the advocate-general,

amassed to render his nation powerful. The army he had raised to carry the war into Germany was disbanded; the princes he had taken under his protection were abandoned. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, the new ally of Henry IV., was obliged to ask pardon of Philip III. of Spain, for having entered into a treaty with the French king, and sent his son to Madrid to implore the mercy of the Spanish court, and to humble himself as a subject in his father's name. The princes of Germany, whom Henry had protected with an army of forty thousand men, now found themselves almost without assistance. The state lost all its credit abroad, and was distracted at home. The princes of the blood and the great nobles filled France with factions, as in the times of Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III., and as afterward, during the minority of Louis XIV.

At length an assembly of the states-general [1] was

[1] The states-general of France were composed of three orders, the clergy, the noblesse, and the *tiers état*, or third estate, consisting of magistrates representing the people. They were convoked occasionally, at the pleasure of the king, by his edict directed to the different parliaments, which distributed these edicts to the bailies and inferior judges. They were called to give their advice and assistance to the sovereign, and deliberate upon the state of the nation in all emergencies. In this last assembly of the states-general of France, the chamber of the clergy consisted of one hundred and forty deputies, including cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastics: there were one hundred and thirty-two members in the chamber of the noblesse; and in that of the third estate one hundred

called at Paris, in 1614, the last that was held in France. The Parliament of Paris was not admitted to a seat in it. Its deputies had assisted at the great assembly of the chief men of the kingdom, held at Rouen in 1594; but this was not a convocation of the states-general; the intendants of the finances, and the treasurers, had taken their seats there as well as the magistrates.

The university formally summoned the chamber of the clergy to receive it as one of the members of the estates, alleging that it was its ancient privilege; but the university had lost its privilege with its credit, as the minds of the people became more free, though not more enlightened.

These estates thus assembled in haste, had no trustees for the laws and customs of the kingdom, like the Parliament of England, and the Diet of the empire; they had no part in the supreme legislature, and yet they wanted to be lawgivers; a privilege naturally sought after by everybody who is the

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and ninety-two deputies, mostly officers of justice, or of the revenue. In the general procession the *tiers état* went before, the noblesse came after, and lastly the clergy. During their session, Louis XIII., being a child, was placed upon an elevated seat, accompanied by the queen-mother, Monsieur the king's brother, the princes and great officers of the crown, placed each according to his rank, on a large stage. The clergy were seated on benches to the right, the noblesse to the left, and behind them the *tiers état*. Cardinal Joyeuse was president for the clergy, baron de Seneicey for the noblesse, and the *prévôt des marchands* of Paris for the third order.

representative of a nation. From the private ambition of each individual is formed a general ambition.

The most remarkable thing which happened in these estates was, that the clergy in vain demanded that the Council of Trent should be received in France; and the third estate, with as little success, demanded the publication of the law: "No power, spiritual or temporal, has a right to dispose of the kingdom, or to release the subjects from their oath of allegiance; and the opinion of its being lawful to kill kings is impious and detestable."

It was the third estate in particular, who moved for this law, after having attempted to depose Henry III. and suffering the utmost extremities of famine, rather than acknowledge Henry IV. But the factions of the League were extinguished, and the third estate, which makes the principal part of the nation, and cannot have any private interest, was attached to the crown, and detested the pretensions of the court of Rome. Cardinal Duperron on this occasion forgot what he owed to the blood of Henry IV. and thought only of the interest of the Church. He strongly opposed this law, and suffered himself to be carried away so far as to declare that he should be obliged to excommunicate all those who should persist in maintaining that the Church had not the power of deposing kings. He added at the same time, that the pope's power was "full, most full, directly in spiritual matters, and indirectly in temporal." The ecclesiastical chamber, which was gov-

erned by the cardinal, persuaded the chamber of the noblesse to join with it. The body of the noblesse had always been jealous of the clergy, but it affected to think in everything different from the third estate. The question now in dispute was whether or not the spiritual and temporal powers had a right to dispose of the crown. The body of nobles, though it did not declare so much, thought itself essentially a temporal power. The cardinal told them that if a king should go about to force his subjects to become Arians or Mahometans, he ought to be deposed. This was a very unreasonable speech, for there had been a number of emperors and kings who were Arians, and yet had not been deposed on that account. This supposition, chimerical and absurd as it was, persuaded the deputies of the noblesse that there were some cases in which the chiefs of the nation might dethrone their sovereign; and this privilege, though distant, was so flattering to self-love, that the noblesse were desirous of sharing it with the clergy. The ecclesiastical chamber signified to the third estate, that it was indeed their opinion that it was not lawful to kill the king, but were resolute as to the rest.

In the midst of this strange dispute, the parliament issued an arret, declaring it to be a fundamental law of the state that the throne was absolutely independent.

It was doubtless the interest of the court to support the demand of the third estate, and the arret of

parliament, after the many troubles which had endangered the throne in preceding reigns. Nevertheless the court gave way to Cardinal Duperron, the clergy, and the court of Rome, with which latter it was particularly desirous to keep fair, and suppressed an opinion on which its own safety was founded, trusting that this truth would never be really opposed by any future event, and desiring to put an end to disputes which were of too delicate and disagreeable a nature; it even suppressed the arret of parliament, on pretence that that court had not the least right to determine concerning the deliberations of the estates; that it had been wanting in the respect due to them; and that it did not belong to it to make fundamental laws. Thus did the court wrest the arms out of the hands of those who were fighting for it, as thinking it should have no need of them. At length the result of this assembly was, the laying open of all the grievances of the kingdom, without being able to redress one.

France remained in confusion, and was governed by one Concini, a Florentine, who rose to be marshal of France without ever having drawn a sword, and prime minister without knowing anything of the laws. It was sufficient that he was a foreigner for the princes to be displeased with him.

Mary de Medici was in a very unhappy situation, for she could not share her authority with the prince of Condé, chief of the malcontents, without being deprived of it altogether; nor trust it in the hands

of Concini, without displeasing the whole kingdom. Henry, prince of Condé, father of the great Condé, and son of the hero of the battle of Coutras, in conjunction with Henry IV., put himself at the head of a party, and took up arms. The court made peace with him, and afterward imprisoned him in the Bastille.

This had been the fate of his father and grandfather, and was that of his son. His confinement increased the number of the malcontents. The Guises, who had formerly been implacable enemies to the Condé family, now joined with them. The duke of Vendôme, son of Henry IV., the duke of Nevers, of the house of Gonzaga, Marshal de Bouillon, and all the rest of the malcontents fortified themselves in the provinces, protesting that they continued true to their king, and made war only against the prime minister.

Concini,[1] Marshal d'Ancre, secure of the queen-

[1] A native of the county of Penna, in Tuscany. He followed Mary de Medici, who appointed him her gentleman usher, and afterward made him gentleman of the bedchamber to her son, the king. He owed his fortune to the credit of his wife, Eleanor Galigai, who was the queen's favorite. He was created marquis d'Ancre, governor of Normandy, marshal of France, and had a great share in the administration, during the minority of Louis XIII. He incurred the hatred of the French by his insolence, ambition, and avarice, though perhaps at bottom they thought his greatest crime was his being a foreigner. When he first quitted Florence, one of his friends asking him what he was going to make in France, he replied:

regent's protection, braved them all. He raised seven thousand men at his own expense, to support the royal authority, or rather his own, and this step proved his ruin. It is true that he raised these troops by virtue of a commission from the king; but it was a great misfortune to France that a stranger, who had come thither without any fortune, should have wherewithal to raise as strong an army as that with which Henry IV. had recovered his kingdom. Almost the whole nation combined against him could not procure his fall; and a young man, of whom he had not the least apprehension, and who was a stranger like himself, caused his ruin and all the misfortunes of Mary de Medici.

Charles Albert of Luines, born in the county of Avignon, had, with his two brothers, been taken into the number of gentlemen-in-ordinary to the king, and the companions of his education. He had insinuated himself into the good graces and confidence of the young monarch by his dexterity in bird-catching. It was never supposed that these childish amusements would end in a bloody revolution. Marshal d'Ancre had given him the government of Amboise,

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"My fortune, or perish." Christina of Lorraine, grand duchess of Tuscany, having employed a person in whom she could confide to advise him in her name to bring his ship softly into harbor, in order to avoid the tempest that seemed ready to burst upon his head, he declared, that while the wind was astern, he would keep the sea and continue his voyage, that he might see how far the gale of fortune would carry a favorite.

thinking by that to make him his creature; but this young man conceived the design of murdering his benefactor, banishing the queen, and governing himself; all which he accomplished without meeting with any obstacle. He soon found means of persuading the king that he was capable of reigning alone, though he was not then quite seventeen years old, and told him that the queen-mother and Concini kept him in confinement. The young king, to whom in his childhood they had given the name of Just, consented to the murder of his prime minister; the marquis of Vitri, captain of the king's guards, du Hallier, his brother, Persan, and others, were sent to despatch him, who finding him in the court of the Louvre, shot him, in 1617: upon this they cried out "*Vive le roi,*" as if they had gained a battle, and Louis XIII. appearing at a window, cried out: "Now I am king." The queen-mother had her guards taken from her, was confined to her own apartment, and afterward banished to Blois. The place of marshal of France, held by Concini, was given to the marquis of Vitri, his murderer. The same honor had been conferred by the queen-mother on Thémines, for seizing the prince of Condé; this made the duke of Bouillon say that he was ashamed of being a marshal, since that dignity had been made the reward of a bailiff and an assassin.

The populace, who are always extreme, and always cruel when let loose, ran to St. Germain l'Auxerrois, where Concini had been buried, dug

up his dead body, dragged it through the streets, and cut out the heart; nay, there were some of them so brutal, as to broil it upon a fire and eat it. His body was afterward hung upon a gibbet. There was still a spirit of fierceness in the nation, which, though softened for a time by the happy years of Henry IV., and the taste for the arts, which had been introduced by Mary de Medici, was still breaking out on the least provocation. The populace treated the remains of Marshal d'Ancre in this cruel manner, only because he was a foreigner, and had been powerful.

The famous Nani, in his history; Marshal d'Estrées, in his memoirs, and Count de Brienne do justice to Concini's merit and innocence; and such testimonies serve to set the living right, though they cannot do anything for those who have suffered in so unjust and cruel a manner.

This furious hatred was not confined to the common people; in 1617, a commission was sent to the parliament for passing sentence upon the marshal after his death, and for trying his wife, Eleanor Galigai, thus to screen the infamy of his murder under the appearance of legal cruelty. Five counsellors of the parliament refused to assist at the trial; but there were only five prudent and just men.

Never was there a proceeding so void of justice and so disgraceful to reason. They could not find any crime against the marshal's wife, but that of having been the queen's favorite: she was accused

of sorcery, and certain *agni dei* which she carried about her were taken for talismans. Counsellor Courtin asked her what charms she had made use of to bewitch the queen. Galigai, incensed against the counsellor, and a little displeased with Mary de Medici, replied: "My only charm was the power which all great minds have over weak ones." This answer did not save her: some of the judges had discernment and justice enough not to think her worthy of death; but the rest, carried away by the general prejudice, by ignorance, and still more by the persuasions of those who wanted to have a share in the spoils of this unhappy pair, passed sentence on the husband, who was already dead, and his wife, who survived him, as guilty of sorcery, Judaism, and malpractice. Galigai was burned, and the king's favorite, Luines, had the confiscated estates.

This unfortunate Galigai was the first promoter of Cardinal Richelieu's fortune; while he was yet very young, and was called the abbot of Chillon, she procured him the bishopric of Luçon, and at length got him made secretary of state in 1616. He was involved in the disgrace of his protectors, and he who afterward pronounced sentence of banishment against so many from that throne on which he was seated next his master was himself banished to a little priory at the farther end of Anjou.

Concini, without ever having served, had been a marshal of France; Luines was four years afterward constable of the same kingdom, without having

been an officer. Such a ministry met with little respect; nothing was seen but factions among the nobles and the people, and everyone undertook the most daring enterprises.

In 1619, the duke of Épernon, who had caused the queen to be declared regent, went to the castle of Blois, whither she had been banished, and carried her to his estate in Angoulême, like a sovereign who rescues his ally.

This was manifestly an act of high treason; but it was a crime that was approved by the whole kingdom, and one which added to the duke of Épernon's glory. The nation had hated Mary de Medici while she was in full power, and they loved her now that she was unfortunate. No one murmured when the king imprisoned his mother in the Louvre, nor when he banished her without any reason; and now they considered as a wicked attempt the endeavors he used to take his mother out of the hands of a rebel. They were so apprehensive of the violence of Luines's counsels, and the cruelty and weakness of the king, that his own confessor, the Jesuit Arnoux, as he was preaching in his presence, before the accommodation, made use of these remarkable words: "It can never be believed, that a religious prince would draw his sword to shed the blood of which he was formed: you would not suffer me, sire, to advance a falsehood from the seat of truth. I conjure you, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, not to hearken to violent

counsels, nor to give this subject of scandal to all Christendom."

It was a fresh proof of the weakness of the administration that anyone dared speak thus from the pulpit. Father Arnoux could not have expressed himself otherwise had the king condemned his mother to death. Louis XIII. had then hardly begun to raise any army against the duke of Épernon; it was therefore publicly revealing the secrets of the state, and speaking in the name of God against the duke of Luines. Either the confessor had a heroic and indiscreet freedom, or he had been gained over by Mary de Medici. Whatever was his motive, this public discourse shows that there was a degree of boldness even in those minds which seemed formed only for submission. A few years later the constable had the confessor discharged.

However, the king was so far from running into those violences of which people had been apprehensive, that he sought an opportunity of reconciliation with his mother, and entered into a treaty with the duke of Épernon, as between prince and prince. He did not even venture to say in his declaration that the duke of Épernon had given him cause of offence.

But the treaty of reconciliation was hardly signed when it was broken again; this was the true spirit of the times. New parties took up arms in favor of the queen, and always to oppose the duke of

Luines, as before it had been to oppose Marshal d'Ancre, but never against the king. Every favorite at that time drew after him a civil war. Louis and his mother in fact made war against each other. Mary was in Anjou at the head of a small army against her son; they engaged each other on the bridge of Cé, and the kingdom was on the point of ruin.

This confusion made the fortune of the famous Richelieu. He was comptroller of the queen-mother's household, and had supplanted all that princess's confidants, as he afterward did all the king's ministers. His pliable temper and bold disposition must necessarily have acquired him the first rank everywhere, or have proved his ruin. He brought about the agreement between mother and son; and a nomination to the purple, which the queen asked of the king for him, was the reward of his services. The duke of Épernon was the first to lay down arms without making any demands, while the rest made the king pay them for having taken up arms against him.

The queen-mother and the king had an interview at Breisach, where they embraced with a flood of tears, only to quarrel again more violently than ever. The weakness, intrigues, and divisions of the court spread anarchy through the kingdom. All the internal defects with which the state had for a long time been attacked, were now increased, and

those which Henry IV. had removed were revived anew.

The Church suffered greatly, and was still in more disorder than the State.

It was not consistent with the interest of Henry IV. to attempt a reformation; the weak piety of Louis XIII. suffered the disorder to continue. Regularity and decency were first introduced by Louis XIV. Almost all the church livings were in possession of the laity, who hired poor priests to officiate for them. The rich abbeys were all in the hands of the princes of the blood. Some of the church lands were regarded as family estates; an abbey was stipulated for a dowry with a wife, and a colonel recruited his regiment with the revenues of a priory. The court clergy frequently wore the sword, and among the many private and public duels which desolated France, there were several fought by churchmen, from the cardinal of Guise, who drew his sword against Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, in 1617, to the abbot, afterward the cardinal, de Retz, who had several engagements of this kind while he was soliciting the archbishopric of Paris. The minds of men were in general gross and uncultivated. The genius of a Malherbe [1] and a Racan was only a new light, which did not spread itself over the nation.

[1] Malherbe is considered as the father of French poetry. His works consist of paraphrases of psalms, odes, stanzas, sonnets, and epigrams; and it must be owned that he bears a considerable rank among the lyric poets. He was pat-

A savage pedantry, companion of that ignorance which passed for science, soured the manners of all the public bodies appointed for the education of youth, and even those of the magistracy. It is hardly credible that the Parliament of Paris, in 1621, forbade everyone, under pain of death, teaching anything contrary to the doctrine of Aristotle and the ancient authors; and that one de Clave and his companions were banished from that city for having attempted to maintain theses against the Aristotelian principles, concerning the number of the elements, and matter and form.

Notwithstanding this severity and strictness of manners, the distribution of justice was venal in almost all the courts of the provinces. Henry IV. acknowledged as much to the Parliament of Paris, which had always distinguished itself by its incorruptible integrity, and its constant opposition to the wills of ministers and pecuniary edicts. "I know,"

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ronized by Henry IV. and afterward obtained a pension of five hundred crowns a year from Queen Mary de Medici. He was remarkably blunt in his conversation and address, of a very litigious disposition, and recited his own verses with a very bad grace, hawking and spitting five or six times in repeating every stanza. The cavalier Marini said he never saw such a moist man, and such a dry poet. But he could not bear to be censured for his bad pronunciation. One day when Racan told him he swallowed half of his words, "Z——ds!" said he, "if you plague me at this rate, I'll eat up all my verses; they are my own, for I made them, and I may make of them whatever I please." In point of religion, he was a free-thinker.

said that prince, "that it is not your custom to sell justice, but in other parliaments there is frequently a necessity to support one's cause by dint of money; I recollect it, and have myself often been obliged to pay for it."

The husbandmen were oppressed by the noblesse, who fortified themselves within their castles, mounted on horseback to follow the governor of a province, or attached themselves to the service of those princes who raised commotions in the state. The towns were destitute of police, and the roads impassable, or infested with robbers. The registers of the parliament prove that the Paris watch, appointed for the safety of the city, consisted at that time of forty-five men, who never did service. These disorders, which Henry IV. had not been able to remove, were not, however, in the number of those diseases of the body politic which could destroy it; its truly dangerous maladies were the disorder of the finances; the dissipation of the money raised by Henry IV.; the necessity of levying taxes on the people during a peace, which Henry had exempted them from, even when making preparations for a war of the greatest consequence; the tyrannical methods used in levying these taxes, which only served to enrich the farmers of the revenue; the immense fortunes raised by these farmers, whom the duke of Sully had removed, and who, under the subsequent administration, fattened on the blood of the people.

To these diseases, which impaired the vigor of the

body politic, were added others, which gave it frequent and violent shocks. The governors of provinces, who were only lieutenants under Henry IV., wanted to be independent of Louis XIII. Their privileges, or rather usurpations, were boundless: they disposed of all places; the poorer sort of gentry devoted their services chiefly to them, very little to the king, and still less to the state. Every governor of a province drew sums from his department, for maintaining a body of troops, in the place of those guards which Henry IV. had taken from them. The government of Guienne was worth a million of livres to the duke of Épernon.

We have just seen this duke taking the queen-mother under his protection, making war upon the king, and accepting peace with a haughty pride. Marshal de Lesdiguières had, three years before, in 1616, signalized his own greatness and the weakness of the crown in a still more glorious manner; he raised a real army at his own expense, or rather at that of Dauphiny, the province of which he was not governor, but only lieutenant-general, led his army into the Alps, notwithstanding the positive and repeated prohibition of the court, assisted the duke of Savoy against the Spaniards, though the court had abandoned his cause, and returned home triumphant. France was then as full of powerful nobles as in the reign of Henry III., and this only added to the weakness of the kingdom.

It is not in the least surprising that France should

at that time have let slip the most favorable occasion which had presented itself since the time of Charles V., to limit the power of the house of Austria, by assisting the elector palatine, who was chosen king of Bohemia, and by keeping the balance of Germany agreeable to Henry IV.'s plan, which was afterward followed by cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin. The court had taken too great umbrage at the Huguenots in France to assist or protect the Protestants in Germany. It feared that the reformers would do that in France which their brethren were doing in the empire; but had the government been as powerful and well established as in the reign of Henry IV., in the last year of Richelieu's ministry, or under Louis XIV., it would have assisted the Protestants of Germany, and at the same time have kept those of France in proper subjection. Luines did not conceive these great designs during his administration, and had he conceived them, he was not in a condition to fulfil them. It required a well-respected authority, regularity in the finances, and large armies: all which were wanting.

The divisions of the court, under a king who always wanted to be master, and was always setting a master over himself, spread the spirit of sedition through all the cities of the kingdom. It was impossible that this flame, sooner or later, would not communicate itself to the reformers in France. This was what the court apprehended, and its weakness produced this apprehension; it was sensible that it

would be disobeyed whenever it attempted to command, and it would always command.

In 1620, Louis XIII. annexed Béarn to the crown by a solemn edict; this edict restored to the Catholics those churches of which the Huguenots had taken possession before the reign of Henry IV. and which that monarch had continued to them. The party assembled at La Rochelle, in defiance of the king's prohibition. The love of liberty, so natural to mankind, inspired the reformers at that time with the flattering idea of forming themselves into a republic, in which they were not a little encouraged by the example of their Protestant brethren in Germany. As their imaginations were warmed, they divided the provinces in which they were dispersed into eight circles; each circle had a general as those in Germany. The generals were Marshal de Rouillon; the duke de Soubise; the duke de la Trimouille; Châtillon, grandson of Admiral Coligny, and Marshal de Lesdiguières. The generalissimo to be chosen by them in time of war was to have a seal, with these words *"Pour Christ et pour le roi"*—"For Christ and the king"—that is, against the king. La Rochelle was destined to be the capital of this republic, which would be able to form a state within the kingdom.

The reformers from this instant made preparations for war. They appeared to have been already pretty powerful, since they offered the post of general to Marshal de Lesdiguières, with a salary of one

hundred thousand crowns per month. Lesdiguières, however, who wanted to be constable of France, chose rather to fight against them than to command them, and soon after quitted their religion; but he presently found himself disappointed in his expectations from the court. The duke de Luines, who had never drawn a sword before, now made use of that of constable; and Lesdiguières having advanced too far to retreat, was obliged to serve under Luines, against those of whom he had hitherto been the chief protector.

The court was under the necessity of treating with all the heads of the party, in order to keep them within bounds, and with all the governors of the provinces, to raise troops. Louis then marched toward the Loire, and into Poitou, Béarn, and the southern provinces; the prince of Condé was at the head of a body of Huguenot troops, and Constable de Luines commanded the king's army.

On this occasion an ancient form was revived, which is not now in vogue. When they came near a town commanded by a suspected person, a herald at arms presented himself before the gates, the commanding officer listened to him uncovered, and the herald cried out: "Isaac, or Jacob, such a one, the king, thy sovereign lord and mine, commands thee to open the gates, and to receive him and his army as in duty bound; on failure of which, I declare thee guilty of high treason in all its degrees, thou and thy posterity: thy goods shall be confiscated,

thy houses razed to the ground, and those of all who are assisting or abetting thee."

Almost all the towns opened their gates to the king, excepting that of St. John d'Angeli, whose ramparts he demolished, and the little town of Clérac, which, in 1621, surrendered at discretion. The court, puffed up with this success, caused the consul of Clérac and four ministers to be hanged.

This execution, instead of dismaying the Huguenots, only served to irritate them the more. Pressed on all sides, and deserted by Marshal de Lesdiguières and Marshal de Bouillon, they made choice of the famous duke Benjamin de Rohan for their general, whom they looked upon as the greatest captain of his age; they compared him to the princes of Orange, and thought him equally capable of founding a republic, even more zealous in the cause of religion, at least in appearance, vigilant, indefatigable, never suffering his pleasures to divert him from business, and formed to be the head of a party; a post which is at best but uncertain, and where foes and friends are equally to be feared. The title, the rank, and the qualities of the chief of a party had for a long time been the principal object and study of the ambitious throughout Europe. The Guelphs and Ghibellines had begun it in Italy; the Guises and the Condés had afterward established a kind of school for these politics in France, which continued till the minority of Louis XIV.

Louis XIII. was forced to besiege his own towns.

They thought to succeed before Montauban, as they had done before Clérac; but Constable de Luines lost almost the whole royal army, under his master's eye.

Montauban was one of those towns, which at present would not hold out a siege of four days, and it was so badly invested, that the duke de Rohan threw reinforcements twice into the town, through the besiegers' lines. Marquis de la Force, who commanded in the place, defended himself better than he was attacked. This was that James Nonpar de la Force, who was so miraculously saved when a child, from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and whom Louis XIII. afterward made marshal of France. The citizens of Montauban, whom the punishment of those of Clérac had inspired with a desperate courage, resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of their town rather than capitulate.

The constable, finding he could not succeed by temporal arms, employed spiritual ones. He sent for a Spanish Carmelite, who was said by his miracles to have assisted the Catholic army of the empire to win the battle of Prague against the Protestants. This friar, whose name was Dominic, came to the king's camp, blessed the army, distributed his *agni* among them, and said to the king: "You shall cause four hundred cannon to be fired against the town, and at the four hundredth Montauban will capitulate." It is probable that four hundred cannon-shot, well directed, might have produced this

effect; Louis ordered them to be fired, Montauban did not surrender, and he was obliged to raise the siege.

This disgrace made the king less respected among the Catholics, and less dreaded by the Huguenots. The constable was hated by everyone: he led the king to avenge the disgrace he had received before Montauban, on a little town of Guienne called Monheur, where a fever put an end to his life, in December, 1621. Every kind of rapine was at that time so common that, as he was dying, he saw his furniture, equipage, and money carried away before his face by his own servants and the soldiers, who hardly left a sheet to cover the corpse of that man who had once been the most powerful in the kingdom; who in one hand held the sword of constable, and in the other the seals of France. He died equally hated by the people and his sovereign.

Louis XIII. was unhappily engaged in a war against one part of his subjects. This war was the work of the duke de Luines, who wanted to keep his master embarrassed, and to be constable. Louis XIII. had been accustomed to consider this war as indispensably necessary. The remonstrances which du Plessis-Mornay, when nearly eighty years of age, made to him on this subject, deserve to be transmitted to posterity. After making use of the most specious reasons he could devise, he wrote thus to him: "A king who makes war upon his subjects, demonstrates his own weakness. Authority consists

in the peaceable obedience of the people, and that is established by the prudence and justice of him who governs. The force of arms is to be employed only against a foreign enemy. The late king would have sent those new ministers of state back to school to learn the elements of politics, who like ignorant surgeons, could propose no other remedies but caustics and amputations; or had presumed to advise him to cut off the diseased limb with that which was sound."

This sound reasoning, however, had no effect on the court. The diseased limb caused too many convulsions in the body, and Louis XIII., who lacked his father's strength of understanding, by which he kept the Protestants within bounds, thought there was no other way to reduce them but by force of arms. He therefore marched into the provinces beyond the Loire, at the head of a small army of about thirteen or fourteen thousand men. He had besides a few bodies of troops in these provinces. The bad state of the finances would not allow of larger armies at that time, and the Huguenots had not a stronger force to oppose him.

Soubise, brother of the duke de Rohan, intrenched himself with eight thousand men in the island of Rhé, which is separated from Poitou by a small arm of the sea, which the king passed at the head of his army at ebb tide, entirely defeating the enemy, and forcing Soubise to fly to England. It was impossible to show greater intrepidity, or to gain a more

complete victory. Louis's only weakness was that of suffering himself to be governed, and this one weakness made him miserable all his life, in his household, his government, his private affairs, and even in his least occupations. As to this victory it only served to furnish the Huguenot chiefs with fresh resources.

They negotiated even more than they fought, as was the case in the time of the League, and in almost all civil wars. More than one rebel lord who had been condemned to lose his life by the parliament, obtained rewards and dignities, while he was executed in effigy. This was what happened to the marquis de la Force, who had driven the royal army from Montauban, and who still kept the field against the king. He had a pension of twenty thousand crowns, and the staff of a marshal of France. The greatest service could not have been better paid than he was for his submission. Châtillon, Coligny's grandson, sold the town of Aigues-Mortes to the king, and was made a marshal. Several sold their obedience in this manner; but Lesdiguières was the only one who sold his religion: he had fortified himself at that time in Dauphiny, where he still professed the reformed religion, and suffered himself to be openly solicited by the Huguenot party, to join them again; thus keeping the king in continual apprehension that he should go over to the faction.

It was proposed in the council either to murder him or make him constable: the king chose the lat-

ter, and then Lesdiguières became in an instant a Catholic, which was necessary, in order to be constable, though not to be marshal of France. Such was the custom, otherwise the constable's sword might as well have been in the hands of a Huguenot, as the superintendency of the finances had for a long time been; but the generals of the army, and the chiefs of the council could not profess the reformed religion while they were fighting against it. This change of religion in Lesdiguières would have been infamous in a private man, who had only a small interest to answer; but the greater objects of ambition are strangers to shame.

Louis XIII. then was obliged to be perpetually buying servants and treating with rebels. He laid siege to Montpellier; and fearing to meet with the same disgrace as he had done before Montauban, he consented to be received into the town, only on condition of confirming the Edict of Nantes, and all the privileges granted to the Protestants. It is probable that if he had left all the other Protestant towns in the possession of their privileges, and had followed the advice of du Plessis-Mornay, he might have saved himself this war; and it is evident that notwithstanding his victory at Rhé, he gained very little by carrying it on.

The duke de Rohan finding that everyone was making terms, made his also. It was he who prevailed on the inhabitants of Montpellier to receive the king into their town. He set on foot, and

concluded, the general peace with Constable Lesdiguières, at Privas. The king rewarded him, as he had done the rest, and gave him the duchy of Valois as a pledge.

Everything remained on the same footing as before the taking up of arms; so that the king and the kingdom were at great expense to gain nothing. In the course of this war there were some few unhappy citizens hanged, and the heads of the rebellion were rewarded.

Louis's council was as much distracted during this civil war as the state itself. The prince of Condé, who accompanied the king everywhere, wanted to have the government of both army and state. The ministers were divided among themselves, and they had pressed the king to give the constable's sword to Lesdiguières, only in order to lessen the prince of Condé's authority. This prince, wearied with the continual opposition he had to encounter in the cabinet, went to Rome as soon as the peace was concluded, to have the pope make the post which he possessed hereditary to his house. He might have transmitted them to his children without the brief which he applied for, and which he could not obtain. It was with difficulty that he could even get the title of highness given him at Rome, and all the cardinal priests took the upper hand of him without ceremony. This was all the fruit of his journey to Rome.

The court, delivered from the burden of a ruinous

and unprofitable civil war, became a prey to fresh intrigues. The ministers were all declared enemies to one another, and the king equally distrusted them all.

It appeared plainly after the death of Luines, that it had been he rather than the king who had persecuted the queen-mother: for no sooner was that favorite deceased, than she was placed at the head of the council. This princess, in order to confirm her reassumed authority, resolved to introduce her favorite, Cardinal Richelieu, into the council. He was the comptroller of her household, and she had procured the purple for him, and never ceased pressing the king to admit him into the ministry. Almost all the memoirs of those times take notice of the king's extreme repugnance to grant this request. He treated as an impostor the person in whom he afterward placed all his confidence, and even reflected upon his moral character.

This prince, who was a scrupulous devotee, and naturally distrustful, had somewhat more than an aversion to the cardinal on account of his gallantries, which were indeed too barefaced, and even ridiculous. He would dress at times like a cavalier, and after writing tracts of divinity, go courting in a hat and feather. De Retz tells us, in his memoirs, that he added pedantry to these fopperies: but you have no occasion for de Retz's testimony, since you have seen the love-theses maintained by Richelieu's orders in his niece's apartments, after the form of the

theses of divinity maintained in the college of the Sorbonne. The memoirs of those times also inform us that he raised his insolent desires, real or feigned, even to the person of the queen-consort, Anne of Austria, from whom he received such biting raillery as he never forgave. I relate these anecdotes because they had an influence on great events. In the first place they show us that, in this famous cardinal, the follies of the man of gallantry took nothing from the greatness of the statesman, and that the littlenesses of private life may be compatible with the heroism of a public station. In the second place, they serve as a kind of demonstration that the political will which has been published in his name, could never have been of his framing. It was not possible that Cardinal Richelieu, who was so well known to Louis XIII. for his amorous intrigues, and as the public gallant of Marion Delorme, could have had the front to recommend chastity to so chaste a prince as Louis, who was at that time forty years old, and overwhelmed with diseases.

So great was the king's repugnance to admit him into the ministry that the queen-mother was obliged to gain over the comptroller, la Vieuville, who was then the minister of most credit, and who feared Richelieu even more than Louis did. At length he was admitted into the cabinet, against the inclination of the king and of the ministers; but he had not the first place in rank there, that being occupied by

Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, nor yet in credit, for la Vieuville continued to hold that for some time; he had no department, no superiority over the other ministers. "He desired only," says the queen-mother in one of her letters to the king, her son, "to come sometimes to council." In this manner did he pass some months upon his first introduction into the ministry.

I must again remark that I am sensible that these minute particulars are in themselves beneath your notice, and should be lost in greater events; but here they are necessary to overturn a false notion which has so long prevailed with the public, that Cardinal Richelieu was prime minister, and absolute master of the council. It is this erroneous opinion which has made the pretended author of the political will say: "When your majesty determined to honor me at the same time with a seat in your council and a great share of your confidence, I then promised to use all my endeavors to humble the pride of the great, to extirpate the Huguenots, and to raise your reputation in all foreign nations."

It is manifest that Cardinal Richelieu could never have expressed himself in this manner, since he had not the king's confidence at first, not to mention how imprudent it would have been in a minister to have begun his harangue by telling his master: "I will raise your reputation;" which was giving him to understand that his reputation was low. I shall pass over the multitude of reasons which prove

beyond contradiction that the political will attributed to Cardinal Richelieu neither is nor could have been his, and shall now return to his administration.

What was afterward said in relation to the mausoleum erected to his memory in the Sorbonne, "*magnum disputandi argumentum*," is the true character of his genius and actions. It is very difficult to know a man of whom his flatterers have said so much good, and his enemies so much ill. He had at once to defend himself against the house of Austria, the Protestants, the grandees of the kingdom, the queen-mother, the king's brother, the queen-consort, to whom he had the insolence to pay his addresses; and lastly, the king himself, to whom he was always necessary and always hateful. It was natural for his enemies to endeavor to defame him by libels; to these he opposed panegyrics, neither of which are deserving of our belief. We are to represent to ourselves facts.

To make ourselves as certain of these as possible, it is necessary to choose proper writers. For example, what is to be thought of the author of "The Life of Father Joseph," who quotes a letter of the cardinal's to this famous Capuchin, written, as he says, immediately upon his entrance into the council? "As you are the principal agent whom God has employed to bring me to those honors to which I now see myself raised, I look upon myself as bound to acquaint you that the king has been pleased to confer

on me the office of prime minister, at the queen's entreaty."

The cardinal did not receive his patent for prime minister till 1629; and Friar Joseph neither brought him to those honors, nor did he conduct him through them.

Books are but too full of such forgeries, and it is no small labor to separate truth from falsehood. Let us then take a summary view of the stormy ministry, or rather reign of Cardinal de Richelieu.

CHAPTER CXLVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU.

THE comptroller, la Vieuville, who had lent a hand to raise Cardinal de Richelieu to the ministry, was the first crushed by him, about six months after his elevation. He was privately accused of misdemeanors, to which every comptroller is liable.

La Vieuville owed his greatness to Chancellor Sillery, and had been the cause of his disgrace. He was now ruined in his turn by the person who owed his advancement to him. These vicissitudes, which are so common in all courts, were more so in that of Louis XIII. than in any other. La Vieuville was confined in the castle of Amboise: he had set on foot a treaty of marriage between the princess Henrietta, sister of Louis XIII., and Charles, prince of Wales, who was soon afterward king of Great Britain. The cardinal put the finishing hand to this treaty, not-

withstanding the opposition of the courts of Rome and Madrid.

He secretly favored the Protestants in Germany; but this did not in the least abate his intention of ruining those in France.

Before he came into the ministry, they had vainly treated with all the Italian princes, to hinder the house of Austria, which was at that time so powerful, from remaining in possession of the Valtelline.

This little province, which was then of the Catholic communion, belonged to the Grison leaguers, who were Protestants. The Spaniards wanted to join these valleys to the duchy of Milan. The duke of Savoy and the Venetians, in concert with France, strenuously opposed all addition of power to the house of Austria in Italy. At length Pope Urban VIII. had the sequestration of this province placed in his hands, and was not without hope of keeping it altogether.

Monsieur de Marquemont wrote a long letter to Cardinal Richelieu, in which he set forth all the difficulties attending this affair. The latter answered him by the following famous epistle: "The king has changed his council, and the ministry its maxims: an army will be sent to the Valtelline, which will make his holiness less wavering, and the Spaniard more tractable." Accordingly, the marquis of Cœuvres was immediately sent to the Valtelline, at the head of an army. No respect was shown to the pope's colors, and the country was freed from

the Austrian invasion. This was the first event which rendered France of some consideration abroad.

Under the former administration there had been a continual complaint of want of money; but now enough was found to assist the Hollanders with a loan of three million two hundred thousand livres to put them in a condition to carry on the war against the Spanish branch of Austria, their ancient sovereign. A sum was also sent to the famous Count Mansfeld,[1] who almost singly supported the cause

[1] This was Ernest, son of Peter Ernest III., count of Mansfeld: he was bred a Roman Catholic at the court of Brussels, under his godfather, the archduke Ernest of Austria, and afterward served the king of Spain in the Low Countries, as well as the emperor in Hungary. About 1610 he quitted the Austrian service in disgust, embraced Calvinism, and engaged in the service of the Protestant princes. He was undoubtedly the most celebrated partisan of the age in which he lived; for though he was generally defeated in pitched battles, he always found resources, by means of which he rendered himself a very formidable enemy. He was famous for surprising towns, routing detachments, traversing provinces, and extricating himself from the most dangerous difficulties. Never was there a captain more indefatigable and undaunted, more patient of hunger, cold, and fatigue, more dexterous at raising armies, or more fruitful in all the expedients of war. His friends called him the Ulysses of Germany, his enemies styled him the Attila of Christendom. He introduced the custom of letting troops for hire; and kept them up at such a price that the Dutch used to say of him, "*bonus in auxilio, carus in pretio.*" Being defeated at Dessau by Wallenstein, the imperial general, he retired with his cavalry into the march of Brandenburg,

of the palatine family and of the Protestants, against the imperial house.

It was natural to expect that after assisting the Protestants abroad, the Spanish ministry would stir up those in France, and repay them — as Mirabel, the Spanish minister, said — the money that had been lent to the Hollanders. Accordingly, the Huguenots, protected and paid by Spain, renewed the civil war in France. It had been the standing maxim of politics among the Catholic princes ever since the time of Charles V. and Francis I. to assist the Protestants in one another's kingdoms, and to persecute them at home. During this new war against the duke de Rohan and his party, the cardinal still went on negotiating with those powers he had insulted; and neither Ferdinand II. nor King Philip IV. attempted anything against France.

La Rochelle began now to become powerful. It had at that time almost as good a fleet as the king. It wanted to follow the example of the Dutch, and might have succeeded, had it found among the

and in a little time assembled another army of twenty-five thousand men, with which he advanced into Hungary, with a view to join Bethlen-Gabor; but this prince having made his peace with the emperor, left Mansfeld's troops to perish of cold and famine among the mountains. The count being extremely chagrined, and finding his health impaired, gave up the remainder of his army to the duke of Saxe-Weimar, and set out on his journey to Venice; but was overtaken by death at a village in Dalmatia. Perceiving his end near, he caused himself to be armed, and being held up by his attendants, died standing, in 1626.

nations of its own faith an ally able or willing to furnish it with proper assistance: but Cardinal Richelieu took care in the first place to set the Dutch against it, who from the interest of religion should have assisted it; and likewise the English, who, from interests of state, were under a stronger obligation to defend it. The money that had already been given to the United Provinces, and what was promised, prevailed on them to equip a fleet against those whom they called their brethren: thus, in 1625, the Catholic king assisted the French Protestants with money, and the Dutch Protestants fought for the Roman Catholic religion; while Cardinal Richelieu was driving the pope's troops from the Valtelline in favor of the Grison Huguenots.

It is a matter of surprise that Soubise, at the head of La Rochelle's fleet, should venture to attack the Dutch fleet off the isle of Rhé, and gain an advantage over those who passed for the best seamen in the world. This success would at any other time have made La Rochelle an established and powerful republic.

Louis XIII. had a good admiral, but no fleet. The cardinal, on coming to the ministry, found everything in need of remodelling or repair. It was impossible for him in the short space of a year to establish a navy. It was with difficulty that he could even equip ten or twelve small men of war. The duke of Montmorency, who had afterward so tragical an end, was at that time admiral; he was

obliged to go on board the Dutch admiral's ship; and it was with the Dutch and English ships that he beat La Rochelle's fleet.

This victory showed how necessary it was for France to make itself powerful both by sea and land, while it had the Huguenot party to suppress at home, and the Austrian power to undermine in Europe. The ministry then granted a peace to the Huguenots, in order to have time to strengthen itself.

Cardinal Richelieu had still more powerful enemies to encounter at court. Not one of the princes of the blood liked him. Gaston of Orleans, the king's brother, hated him mortally. Mary de Medici began to look upon the creature of her raising with jealousy. All the grandees caballed against him.

In 1626, he took the place of admiral from the duke of Montmorency, to bestow it on himself under another name, and by this he made another irreconcilable enemy. Two sons of Henry IV., Cæsar of Vendôme, and the grand prior, attempted to oppose him; he had them confined in the castle of Vincennes. Marshal d'Ornano and Talleyrand Chalais, stirred up Gaston, the king's brother, against him. He caused them to be accused of a design against the king himself. In this accusation he included the duke of Soissons, Gaston, and the queen-consort.

One time the conspirators were accused of a plot to take away the king's life, at another, of a design of declaring him impotent, shutting him up in a

cloister, and giving his crown and wife to his brother Gaston. These two accusations manifestly contradicted each other, and neither the one nor the other was possible. Their real crime was that of having joined to oppose the minister, and of having talked of taking away his life. The commissioners passed sentence of death upon Chalais, and he was executed at Nantes. Marshal d'Ornano died in his confinement at Vincennes: the count of Soissons fled to Italy: the duchess of Chevreuse, to whom the cardinal had formerly paid his addresses, but whom he now accused of having joined in the cabal against him, escaped with difficulty from the guards, who were sent to arrest her, and fled to England. Anne of Austria was summoned before the council, forbidden to speak to any man, except in the presence of the king, and compelled to sign an acknowledgment of her guilt.

Distrust, fear, and desolation had now taken possession of the royal family and the whole court. Louis was now the most unhappy man in his kingdom; he was in continual apprehension of his wife and brother, uneasy in his mother's presence, whom he had formerly used so ill, and who every now and then let fall hints of her not having forgotten it; and still more perplexed with the cardinal, whose yoke he already began to feel. The critical situation of affairs abroad was a fresh subject of uneasiness to him, and he found himself unavoidably linked to the cardinal by his fears and perplexities, by the

necessity he was under of suppressing the cabals in his court, and of preserving his credit with other nations.

Three ministers, equally powerful, were at that time in a manner masters of the fate of Europe; Olivarez in Spain, Buckingham in England, and Richelieu in France. They had all three a natural hatred to, and were at once negotiating against, one another. Cardinal Richelieu quarrelled with the duke of Buckingham, at the very time that the English were supplying him with a fleet against the Rochellers, and joined with the count-duke Olivarez at the time that he was depriving the king of Spain of the Valtelline.

Of these three ministers the duke of Buckingham passed for the least politic. He shone as a favorite and a nobleman, was liberal, open, and daring, but was not a statesman. The mastery he had gained over Charles I. was not owing to his intrigues, but to that ascendency which he had had over the father, and which he still retained over the son. He was the handsomest man of his time, the most generous, and the most proud. He fancied that no woman could resist the charms of his person, nor man the superiority of his understanding. Intoxicated with this double self-love, he had carried Charles, while prince of Wales, into Spain, to marry the infanta, and that he himself might make a figure at that court. Here, by adding the Spanish gallantry to his own assurance, he attacked the wife of the prime minister,

Olivarez, and by this indiscreet action hindered the prince's marriage. Being sent to France in 1625, to conduct the princess Henrietta to England, whom he had procured for King Charles I., he was again on the point of making this design miscarry by an indiscretion of a still bolder nature: he made a declaration to Queen Anne of Austria, and made no secret of his passion for that princess, though he could expect nothing from this adventure but the vain honor of having dared to explain himself. The queen, who had been brought up in notions of gallantry, which were then allowed in Spain, looked upon the duke of Buckingham's rashness only as a homage paid to her beauty, which could not offend her virtue.

The pomp assumed by the duke of Buckingham was very displeasing to the court of France, though without making him ridiculous; for greatness and assurance are not regarded in that light. He conducted Princess Henrietta to London, and carried back with him in his heart a passion for the queen, which was increased by the vanity of having declared it. This same vanity led him to venture upon a second voyage to the court of France. The pretext was to make a treaty with the cardinal against Olivarez, as the cardinal had before made a treaty with Olivarez against him. The true reason was, to be nearer the queen, which he sufficiently showed by all his behavior; however, he was not only refused permission to see her, but the king

discharged several of his wife's servants whom he suspected of favoring the duke of Buckingham's designs. This Englishman then, on his return home, caused war to be declared against France, for no other reason than that he had been refused leave to declare his unjust passion. This adventure has the appearance of those in the times of knight-errantry. So oddly are the affairs of the world connected, that the romantic amours of the duke of Buckingham produced a religious war, and the taking of La Rochelle.

The leader of a party takes advantage of all circumstances. The duke de Rohan, whose designs were as deep as those of Buckingham were weak and shallow, made use of this Englishman's resentment to obtain a fleet of a hundred armed ships and transports,[1] and engaged the Rochellers, who with the rest of the party were then at peace, to receive a fleet of English ships not in the harbor of La Rochelle, but in the isle of Rhé. Buckingham himself made a descent upon the island, in July, 1627, with about

[1] The seventh article of the duke's impeachment by the house of commons imports: "That he, the said duke, as admiral, did by indirect and subtle practices procure one of the principal ships of his majesty's navy-royal called the *Vanguard,* and six other merchant ships, to be put into the hands of the French king." To this charge he replied: "The article was so mixed with actions of great princes, that he dared not in his duty publish every passage thereof; but he could affirm that those ships were lent to the French king at first without his privity; and when he knew it, he did that which belonged to an admiral of England, and

seven thousand men. He had only a small fort to take to make himself master of the island, and separate La Rochelle forever from France. The Huguenot party would then have become unconquerable. The kingdom was divided, and all the mighty projects of Cardinal Richelieu would have vanished into air, had the duke of Buckingham been only half as great, or at least as fortunate, a warrior as he was a bold and enterprising man.

The marquis, afterward marshal, de Thoiras, saved the reputation of France by holding the isle of Rhé with a small body of troops against the superior force of the English, and gave Louis XIII. time to send an army before La Rochelle. The command was at first given to the king's brother, Gaston; but the king soon joined it in person, accompanied by the cardinal. Buckingham was obliged to return to England, after having lost half his army, without being able to throw any reinforcements into La Rochelle, where his appearance had only served to hasten its ruin. The duke de Rohan, who had instigated the Rochellers to take up arms, was absent from the town, and engaged in carrying on the war in Languedoc, against the prince of Condé and the duke of Montmorency.

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a true Englishman." One cause assigned for the war which the king this very year declared against France was, the Most Christian king's employing against his Protestant subjects of La Rochelle, the English ships which were lent by treaty, expressly on condition that they should only assist the French on the coast of Italy.

All three generals were fighting for their own interest: the duke de Rohan to continue himself at the head of a party; the prince of Condé at the head of the king's army, and to recover his credit at court, and the duke of Montmorency to keep the command of the troops which he had raised on his own authority, to make himself master in Languedoc, of which he was governor, and to raise an independent fortune, as Lesdiguières had done. La Rochelle then had only itself to depend upon. The citizens, animated by religion and liberty, those two powerful motives with the populace, elected one Guiton their mayor, who was, if anything, rather more determined than themselves. This man, before he would accept an office which gave him the chief command both in civil and military affairs, took a poniard, and holding it in his hand, "I accept," said he, "the place of your mayor, only on condition of striking this poniard to the heart of the first who shall talk of surrendering; and that it be in like manner used against me, if ever I think of capitulating."

While La Rochelle was thus preparing for the most obstinate resistance, Cardinal Richelieu made use of every resource to reduce it, by building ships with the most surprising expedition, procuring a reinforcement of men and artillery, and even assistance from Spain, by taking a speedy advantage of the animosity between Olivarez and Buckingham, employing the cause of religion, and making the most specious promises, and obtaining a fleet from

the king of Spain, at that time the natural enemy to France. To take from the Rochellers all hope of assistance from England, the count-duke sent Frederick of Toledo with forty sail before the port of La Rochelle.

The Spanish admiral arrived; but would one believe that these reinforcements were rendered useless by a mere matter of ceremony, and that Louis XIII. suffered the Spanish fleet to return home because he would not permit its admiral to be covered in his presence? Whether an affair of so much importance was determined by this trivial circumstance, as too frequently happens, or whether the court of Spain had taken umbrage at some new disputes relating to the Mantuan succession, its fleet simply appeared and returned.

The duke of Buckingham was fitting out a new armament to deliver the town, and he might in a very short time have rendered all the efforts of the French king fruitless. It has always been the opinion of the court, that Cardinal Richelieu warded off this blow by taking advantage of Buckingham's passion for Anne of Austria, and that he prevailed upon the queen to write to that duke. It is said that she requested him to suspend the embarkation of his troops for a little time; and that Buckingham suffered his weakness to prevail over his honor and reputation.

This anecdote may possibly be false; but it has gained so much credit that we cannot dispense with

relating it; it is perfectly agreeable to the known character of Buckingham, and the spirit of court politics at that time; and we cannot otherwise account for Buckingham's contenting himself with sending only a few vessels, which showed themselves before the town to no purpose, and returned to their own ports.

It is no less astonishing to see the cardinal commanding alone at this siege, after the king's return to Paris. He had a general's commission, and this was his first essay in the military art. He now gave proofs that resolution and genius can overcome all things, being as exact in preserving discipline among the troops as he was careful in establishing a good police in Paris, and both were equally difficult. La Rochelle could not be reduced so long as its port was open to the English fleet; it was therefore necessary to shut it up by subduing the sea. In the foregoing civil war, when Louis XIII. designed besieging this place, just as the peace was concluded, one Pompeio Targoni, an Italian engineer, had contrived a barricade to keep out the sea. The cardinal followed this plan, but the sea soon threw down the works. He, not in the least discouraged, began them anew. He carried a mole, nearly seven thousand four hundred feet in length, into the sea; this was destroyed by the winds: nevertheless he still persisted, and having his Quintus Curtius with him, with the description of the mole which Alexander the Great raised across the harbor of Tyre, he set his people to work again;

and at length, by the labor and vigilance of Metesan and Tercan, two French engineers, the mole was put into a condition to resist the winds and waves.

Louis XIII. now repaired in person to the siege, and remained there from the month of March, 1628, till the place was reduced. He was frequently present at the attacks, and encouraged his officers by his example, and hastened the finishing of the great work of the mole. Yet still they were in apprehension of the arrival of another English fleet, which would destroy all they had been about. Fortune, however, favored their undertakings. Buckingham, when just ready to sail with a formidable fleet to the assistance of La Rochelle, in September, 1628, was stabbed by an Irish fanatic,[1] without its being ever discovered who instigated the act.

Nevertheless La Rochelle, though destitute of

[1] This was John Felton, who had been lieutenant of infantry, and disappointed in his expectation of a captain's commission. He certainly was a fanatic; but, in this case, his revenge seems to have co-operated with his enthusiasm. The duke was walking with Sir Thomas Frier through an entry from one apartment to another, when Felton stabbed him with a knife, which he left sticking in the wound. Buckingham exclaimed: "The villain hath killed me!" and, pulling out the knife, dropped dead on the floor. The assassin might have escaped; but he seemed to glory in his crime, and surrendered himself immediately to justice. He had pinned on the lining of his hat an inscription, declaring that his only motive to this action was the late remonstrance of the commons against the duke: for he thought he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler cause than in delivering his country from such an enemy.

assistance and even of provisions, still maintained a courageous defence. The citizens were inspired by the example of the mother and sister of the duke de Rohan, who suffered the greatest extremity of want in common with the rest. As some unhappy wretches, ready to expire with hunger, were bewailing their calamitous situation before Mayor Guiton, he told them that if one man only was left alive, he ought to keep the gates fast.

The besieged found their hope somewhat revived at sight of the fleet which had been fitted out by Buckingham, and which now appeared under the command of Admiral Lindsey. The English were not able to break through the mole, and their ships were scattered by forty large pieces of cannon, which had been mounted on a wooden fort built in the sea. Louis was in person in this fort, and exposed himself to the fire of the enemy's fleet, which was obliged to retire, after finding all its efforts to relieve the town ineffectual.

Famine at length subdued the courage of the Rochellers; and, after a year's siege, which they had sustained by themselves, they were obliged to surrender, notwithstanding the mayor's poniard, which always lay upon the table in the town hall, ready to pierce the heart of him who should mention a capitulation. And here it may not be improper to remark, that neither Louis XIII. as king, Cardinal Richelieu as minister, nor the marshals of France as officers of the crown, signed the articles of capit-

ulation, but only two field-marshals. La Rochelle was only deprived of its privileges, and no one lost his life. The Roman Catholic religion was established in the town, and the country round about, and the inhabitants were left to their Calvinism, as the only thing which they had remaining.

The cardinal was determined not to leave his work unfinished; he marched into the other provinces of the kingdom, where the reformers had several strongholds, and where their numbers were still formidable. He knew that he must subdue and disarm the Huguenot party entirely, before he could be at liberty to employ his whole strength against the house of Austria in Germany, Flanders, Italy, and Spain. It was requisite that the state should be in unity and peace at home, in order to disturb the quiet of other states.

The interesting affair of giving a duke to Mantua, who might be dependent on France instead of Spain, after the death of the last prince, had already invited the arms of France into Italy. Gustavus Adolphus at the same time was meditating the invasion of Germany, and he was to be supported.

In this intricate situation of affairs the duke de Rohan, who still continued firm amidst the ruins of his party, made a treaty with the king of Spain, who promised to give him assistance, after having furnished aid against him the very year before. Philip IV., after consulting his council of conscience, promised a yearly pension of thirty thousand ducats to the

chief of the Huguenot party in France; but the money came slowly, and the king's troops laid all Languedoc waste. Privas was given up to plunder, and all who were found in it slain. The duke de Rohan, unable to carry on the war, still found means to make a general peace for his party on as good terms as he could; and the man who had but lately entered into a treaty with the king of Spain, in quality of head of a party, now treated in the same character with the king of France, his master, at the very time that he stood condemned by the parliament as a rebel; and, after having received money from the Spanish court to maintain his troops, he demanded and received one hundred thousand crowns from Louis XIII. to complete their pay and dismiss them.

The other Protestant towns in France had the same treatment as La Rochelle; their fortifications were demolished, and they were deprived of all those privileges which might prove dangerous; they were allowed liberty of conscience, and the use of their churches, municipal laws, and chambers of edicts, which could not do any hurt. Everything was appeased; and the powerful Calvinistic party, instead of establishing a state, was disarmed and depressed beyond recovery. Switzerland and Holland were not so powerful as this party when they erected themselves into independent sovereignties; Geneva, which was far less considerable, made itself free, and continued so; and yet the Protestants of

France fell in the attempt. The reason was that the party itself was scattered in its provinces; that one half of the people and the parliaments were Catholics; that the royal army sent against them found their country open and defenceless; that they were attacked by troops much superior and better disciplined than their own; and lastly, that they had to deal with Cardinal Richelieu.

Louis XIII., whose character is not sufficiently known, never gained so much personal reputation as at this juncture; for, after the taking of La Rochelle, while his armies were reducing the Hungarians to obedience, he supported his allies in Italy; he marched over the Alps to the assistance of the duke of Mantua, in March, 1629, in the midst of a severe winter, forced three barricades in the pass of Susa, made himself master of that town, obliged the duke of Savoy to join him, and drove the Spaniards out of Casale.

In the meanwhile Cardinal Richelieu was treating with all the crowned heads of Europe, and against the greater part of them. He sent a Capuchin friar to the Diet of Ratisbon, to impose upon the Germans, and to keep the emperor from meddling in the affairs of Italy. At the same time Charnasse was employed to encourage Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to invade Germany; a project to which Gustavus was already very well disposed. While Richelieu was thus trying to shake all Europe, the cabal of the king's brother and the two queens vainly attempted

to ruin him at court. His great credit occasioned as much disturbance in the cabinet as his intrigues excited disorders in other kingdoms. We must not suppose that these commotions at court were the effects of a deep policy or well-concerted designs, which united a party skilfully formed for overthrowing him, and raising a person in his room worthy of succeeding him. These fatal divisions were for the most part produced by a humor which frequently governs men, even in the greatest affairs. The queen-mother, though she still kept her place in the council, and had been regent of the provinces on this side the Loire during her son's expedition to La Rochelle, was exasperated against the cardinal, who affected to appear no longer dependent on her. The memorial drawn up in defence of this princess takes notice that the cardinal coming one day to pay his court to her, and her majesty inquiring after his health, he replied, with his eyes flaming with anger, and his lips trembling: "I am better than some here would wish me to be." The queen expressed her indignation at his insolence: the cardinal flew into a passion; he afterward asked pardon, and the queen grew pacified; and two days afterward they quarrelled again, that policy which sometimes subdues the passions in the cabinet not being always master in conversation.

Mary de Medici at that time took from the cardinal the place of comptroller of her household. The first fruit of this quarrel was the patent for prime

minister, which the king made out with his own hand, on Nov. 21, 1629, and addressed to him, extolling his valor and magnanimity, and leaving a blank space for the salary of the office, to be filled up by the cardinal himself. He was already high admiral of France, under the title of comptroller of navigation; and, after depriving the Huguenots of their strongholds, he secured to himself Saumur, Angers, Honfleur, Havre-de-Grâce, and the isles of Oléron and Rhé, which became so many precautionary places in his hands against his enemies. He was attended by guards, and his pomp eclipsed that of the crown: he was accompanied with all the exteriors of royalty, and all authority was vested in him.

The situation of affairs in Europe made him more necessary than ever to his master and the state; Emperor Ferdinand II., since the battle of Prague, had made himself despotic in Germany, and was very powerful in Italy. His troops were at that time besieging Mantua; Savoy was wavering between France and the house of Austria; the marquis of Spinola was in the duchy of Milan with a Spanish army. The cardinal resolved to oppose Spinola himself; he procured a patent creating him generalissimo of the army destined for Italy, and the king, in this patent, ordered the same obedience to be paid to him as to his own person. Thus this prime minister exercising the office of constable, and having under him two marshals of France, marched into Savoy in 1630. He entered into a treaty on his

march; but in the character of a crowned head, and insisted upon the duke's coming to Lyons to meet him; this, however, was refused. The French army took Chambéry and Pinerolo in two days. At length the king himself set out for Savoy, taking with him the two queens, his brother, and a whole court, declared enemies to the cardinal, who only arrived to be witnesses to his triumphs. The cardinal came to Grenoble to meet the king, and they marched together into Savoy. Louis XIII. was seized with an epidemic disorder, and returned to Lyons. At this juncture the duke of Montmorency, with a handful of men, gained a signal victory over the conjoined army of Imperialists, Spaniards, and Savoyards, at Vegliana, and wounded and took prisoner with his own hand General Doria. This action crowned him with glory, and the king wrote to him in these terms: "I think myself as much obliged to you as a king can be to a subject." This obligation, however, did not prevent this great man from being brought to the scaffold two years later.

There was nothing less than such a victory required to support the interest and reputation of France, at a time that the Imperialists had taken and sacked Mantua, were pursuing the duke, whom Louis XIII. protected, and had beaten the Venetians, his allies. The cardinal, whose greatest enemies were those he had at court, left the duke of Montmorency to fight against the enemies of the kingdom, and applied himself to observe the motions of

those he himself had about the king. This monarch was then dangerously ill at Lyons, insomuch that his life was despaired of. The confidants of the queen-consort, who were too hasty, already began to propose to Gaston to marry his brother's wife, who was in all appearance on the point of becoming a widow. The cardinal made preparations for retiring to Avignon. The king recovered, and those who had founded their hopes on his death were confounded. The cardinal followed him to Paris, where he found more intrigues than there were in Italy, among the empire, Spain, Venice, Savoy, Rome, and France.

Mirabel, the Spanish ambassador, had joined with the two queens against him. The two brothers, Marillac, the one marshal of France, and the other keeper of the seals, who were indebted to him for their preferments, flattered themselves with the hope of ruining him, and succeeding in his credit. The marshal of Bassompierre, without pretending to anything, was in their secret. The king's first valet de chambre, Beringhen, communicated to the cabal all that passed in the king's apartment. The queen-mother a second time deprived the cardinal of his place of comptroller of her household, which she had been obliged to restore to him; an office which the cardinal looked upon as beneath his dignity and pride, but which that pride would not suffer him to lose. His niece, afterward duchess of Aiguillon, was dismissed; and Mary de Medici, by dint of reit-

erated entreaties and complaints, obtained her son's promise to divest him of the ministry.

There was nothing more in these intrigues than what we every day meet with in the houses of private persons who have a great number of servants; they were common trifles; but here the fate of France, and even of Europe, depended on them. The private treaties with the Italian princes, with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden; with the United Provinces and the princes of Orange, against the emperor and Spain, were in the hands of Richelieu, and could not be taken from him without endangering the state. Nevertheless, the king's weakness, with the inward dislike he had taken to the cardinal on account of his superiority, determined him to give up this necessary minister, and, overcome by the obstinate solicitations and tears of his mother, he promised to disgrace him. The cardinal entered by a back door into the room where they were concluding his ruin; the king rose and left the apartment without speaking to him; he now looked upon himself as lost, and prepared for a retreat to Havre-de-Grâce, as he had a few months before done to retire to Avignon. His ruin appeared the more certain, as the king, on Nov. 10, 1630, gave Marshal de Marillac, the cardinal's declared enemy, power to make peace and war in Piedmont. Then the cardinal prepared in earnest for his departure; he had already sent his riches twenty-five leagues off, on mules, with orders not to pass through any town, a pre-

caution he had taken against the hatred of the populace. His friends advised him to try one effort more with the king.

The cardinal accordingly went to the king at Versailles, which was at that time a small hunting seat which Louis XIII. had bought for twenty thousand crowns, and which has since been made one of the noblest palaces in Europe. The king, who had sacrificed his minister through weakness, by the same weakness puts himself again into his hands, and gives up to him all those who had plotted his ruin. This day, which still goes by the name of the Day of Dupes, fixed the cardinal's absolute power. The very next morning the keeper of the seals was arrested and committed prisoner to Châteaudun, where he died of grief. The same day the cardinal despatched a messenger of state, in the king's name, to the two marshals, de la Force and Schomberg, with orders to arrest Marshal de Marillac, at the head of the army of which he was going to take the sole command. The messenger arrived an hour after the marshal had received the news of Richelieu's disgrace, and he found himself a prisoner in the very instant that he thought himself master of the state, in conjunction with his brother. Richelieu resolved to bring this general to an ignominious death by the hand of the executioner, for extortion: the trial lasted nearly two years. We must here relate the consequences that attended it, to avoid breaking in upon the thread of this affair, and to

show what revenge can effect when armed with supreme power, and colored with the appearances of justice.

The cardinal was not satisfied with depriving the marshal of the right of being tried by the courts of parliament assembled, a right which had been so often violated, nor with having appointed commissioners to try him at Verdun, on whose severity he thought he might depend. These first judges having, notwithstanding the threats and promises used to work upon them, agreed to admit the criminal to justify himself; the cardinal annulled the sentence, and appointed other judges, among whom were Marillac's most inveterate enemies; in particular Paul Hay du Chastelet, known by the bitter satire he wrote against the two brothers. Never was greater contempt shown to the forms of justice and common decency than by the cardinal on this occasion, who had the prisoner removed to his own country house, where the trial was carried on in his presence.

It is expressly forbidden by the laws of the kingdom to detain anyone prisoner in a private house; but there were no laws against powerful revenge. The laws of the Church were as little respected as those of the State and of decency. The new keeper of the seals, Châteauneuf, who had lately succeeded the prisoner's brother, sat as president of the court, where decency forbade his appearance; and though a sub-deacon, and possessed of benefices, he pre-

sided at a criminal process; the cardinal had procured a dispensation from Rome, in virtue of which he had the power of passing sentence of death.

This trial shows us that the lives of the unfortunate depend on a desire of pleasing men in power. The most minute actions of the marshal's life were inquired into. They pretended to have discovered some abuses in the exercise of his command, some illicit though customary profits, which he had formerly made either by himself or his servants, in building the citadel of Verdun. "It is an unheard-of thing," said he to his judges, "that a man of my rank should be prosecuted with so much rigor and injustice; my whole trial relates to nothing but hay, straw, stones, and lime."

Nevertheless, this general, covered with wounds, and bending beneath the servitude of forty years, was condemned to die, under the same king who had bestowed rewards on thirty subjects who had been in open rebellion against him.

During the first preparations for this strange trial, the cardinal ordered Beringhen to leave the kingdom, and imprisoned all those who had attempted to overthrow him, or of whom he had the least suspicion. This display of a revenge as mean as cruel seemed little to agree with a mind occupied with the fate of Europe.

At that time he concluded with Gustavus Adolphus against Frederick II. that treaty which was intended to shake the imperial throne. It cost

CARDINAL RICHELIEU

France only three hundred thousand livres a year to sow divisions in Germany, and to oppress both emperors at once till the Peace of Westphalia; and Gustavus Adolphus had already entered upon the course of his victories, which gave France all the time and liberty it could desire to establish its greatness, and to secure its own peace by the troubles of other nations; but the minister, by his want of moderation, excited the public hatred against him, and made his enemies implacable. Gaston, duke of Orleans, the king's brother, fled from court to his appanage of Orleans, and thence to Lorraine, protesting that he would never set foot in the kingdom so long as the cardinal, the persecutor of himself and his mother, continued at the helm of affairs. Richelieu caused all the friends and adherents of the duke to be declared guilty of high treason, by a decree of council. This decree was sent to the parliament to be registered; the voices were divided on this occasion. The king, incensed at this division, sent for the parliament to the Louvre, who went thither on foot, and addressed the king upon their knees. The act of division was torn before their faces, and three of the principal members were banished.

The cardinal was not contented with supporting his authority, now connected with that of his master, in this arbitrary manner. Having forced the presumptive heir of the crown to fly the kingdom, he made no scruple of causing the queen-mother to be

put under arrest. This was a delicate undertaking, considering that the king had already repented of his behavior to his mother, and of having sacrificed her to a favorite. The cardinal made use of arguments of state to stifle the voice of nature in the king, and set all the engines of religion to work to quiet his scruples. On this occasion, he employed the talents of Father Joseph du Tremblay, a Capuchin, as extraordinary a personage in his way as Richelieu himself; he was a cunning enthusiast, who could occasionally be either the fanatic or the impostor, and who attempted at one and the same time to set up a crusade against the Turks, to found the order of the Nuns of Mount Calvary, to turn poet and negotiator, and to raise himself to the purple and the ministry. This man, being admitted into one of the private councils of conscience invented to do evil under the appearance of good, undertook to prove to the king that he not only might, but should put it out of his mother's power to oppose his minister. The court was then at Compiègne; the king quitted it, in February, 1631, and left his mother surrounded with guards, who prevented her from stirring. Her friends, servants, and even her own physician, were sent to the Bastille and other prisons. The Bastille was always full during this administration; Marshal de Bassompierre, only for being suspected of not being in the cardinal's interest, was shut up there during the life of that minister.

Mary never saw her son again, nor did she see Paris more, that city which she had beautified with the famous palace called the Luxembourg, with noble aqueducts unknown till her time, and with the fine public walk which still goes by the name of the Queen's. Continually a prey to favorites, she passed the rest of her days in a voluntary but unhappy exile. The widow of Henry the Great, the mother of a king of France, and the mother-in-law of three crowned heads, sometimes lacked the necessaries of life. The foundation of all these quarrels was, that Louis XIII. would be governed, and that he chose rather to be governed by his minister than his mother.

This queen, who had so long governed the kingdom, fled first to Brussels; and, from her asylum there, called to her son and the supreme courts of the kingdom for justice against her enemy. She became a petitioner to that parliament whose remonstrances she had so often rejected while regent, and sent back from her presence to confine themselves to the trial of causes: so strongly does our way of thinking change with our fortunes. Her petition is still to be seen in these terms: "The petition of Mary, queen of France and Navarre, showeth, that, since February 23, she has been detained prisoner in the castle of Compiègne, without being accused or suspected of," etc. The repeated complaints preferred against the cardinal by the queen's friends lost great part of their force by being too strongly

urged, and because those who dictated them for her, by mingling their own grievances with her sorrows, joined too many false accusations with the true ones; in short, she only added to her misfortunes by complaining of them.

The minister answered the queen's representations against him by having himself created a duke and peer, and appointed governor of Brittany, in 1631. Everything seconded his wishes, not only in the kingdom, but also in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. Julius Mazarin, who had been employed by the pope as his minister in the affair of Mantua, was now the minister of France on account of his happy dexterity in negotiations; and, by serving Cardinal Richelieu, he, without foreseeing it, laid the foundation of that fortune which made him that minister's successor. An advantageous treaty had lately been made with Savoy, by which that state ceded Pinerolo forever to France.

In the Low Countries the prince of Orange, by the assistance of the money he received from the French court, made several conquests over the Spaniards, and the cardinal had intelligence even in Brussels.

In Germany the extraordinary success of Gustavus' arms contributed to augment the merit of the cardinal's services in France. In a word, the uninterrupted prosperity of his administration deprived all his enemies of the power to hurt him, and left him at full liberty to pursue his revenge, which the good of the state seemed to authorize. He erected

a court of justice, which passed sentence against all the friends and adherents of the queen-mother and the king's brother. The number of proscribed was prodigious; not a day passed without seeing gibbets loaded with the figures in effigy of those of both sexes who had followed the fortunes, or shared in the councils of the two royal exiles; search was made after some physicians and drawers of nativities, who had said that the king had not long to live, and two were actually sent to the galleys. In short, the queen-mother's estates, and even her dowry, were confiscated; she thereupon wrote thus to her son: "I am not willing to charge you with the seizure of my estates, nor the inventory which has been taken of them, as if I was already dead; I can never believe that you would deprive her of nourishment who gave you your life."

The whole kingdom murmured at these proceedings, but no one dared to speak out. Those who would have taken part with the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans were withheld by their fears. The marshal duke de Montmorency, who was governor of Languedoc, was the only one who at that time thought himself sufficiently powerful to withstand the cardinal's fortune, and to set himself up as the head of a party; but his great courage was not alone sufficient to support this dangerous part. He was not master of two provinces, like Lesdiguières, who had found means to make himself absolute in Dauphiny; his prodigality had put it out of his

power to purchase a number of dependents, and his love of pleasure and amusement did not suffer him to attend wholly to business. In a word, to be the head of a party, he should have had a party, but he had none.

Gaston gave him the flattering title of "avenger of the royal family." They thought themselves sure of the assistance of Charles IV., duke of Lorraine, whose sister the duke of Orleans had married; but Charles could not defend himself against Louis, who had already made himself master of part of his dominions. The court of Spain gave the king's brother hopes of an army in the Netherlands and at Trier, to lead into France; but he with difficulty got together three thousand German horsemen, whom he could not pay, and who lived entirely on plunder. It was supposed that as soon as he appeared in France with this handful of men, all the nation was to join him; instead of which, not one stirred in his favor during his whole march, from the borders of Franche-Comté to the provinces of the Loire, and as far as Languedoc. He hoped likewise that the duke d'Épernon, who had marched over the whole kingdom to deliver the queen, and who had carried on a war, and afterward concluded a peace in her favor, would now declare for that queen whose cause he had so warmly supported, and for one of her sons, the presumptive heir of the crown, against a minister, whose pride had so frequently mortified his own. This resource,

however, powerful as it seemed, failed as others had done. The duke d'Épernon, who had almost ruined himself in assisting the queen-mother, complained of having been neglected by her, after such essential services. He hated the cardinal more than any person living, but at the same time he began to fear him.

The prince of Condé, who had engaged in a war to oppose Marshal d'Ancre when minister of state, was far from thinking of declaring against Richelieu; he yielded to this minister's genius, and solely intent upon making his own fortune, solicited the command of the army on the other side the Loire, against his brother-in-law, Montmorency. The count of Soissons had then only an impotent hatred for the cardinal, and did not dare to declare himself.

The duke of Orleans, thus deserted, only because he was not strong enough, traversed the kingdom more like a fugitive at the head of foreign banditti than a prince marching to give battle to a king. At length he came to Languedoc, where he was joined by the duke of Montmorency with six or seven thousand men, which he called an army, and which he had raised partly at his own expense and partly by promises. Discord, which always insinuates itself into parties, weakened these forces almost as soon as they were gathered together. The duke of Elbeuf, Gaston's favorite, wanted to share the command with Montmorency, who had been at all

the charge and trouble, and was in his own province.

The very day of the battle of Castelnaudary, Sept. 1, 1631, was opened by a dispute between Gaston and Montmorency. This could hardly be called a battle; it was an encounter, a skirmish, in which the latter duke fell upon a small detachment of the royal army, commanded by Marshal Schomberg; and, whether through his natural impetuosity, through vexation and despair, or from having drunk too freely, which was but too common at that time, he leaped a large ditch, followed only by five or six of his people. This was fighting like the old knights-errant, and not like a general. After breaking through several of the enemy's ranks, he fell to the ground wounded, and was taken in sight of the duke of Orleans and his little army, who made not the least motion to assist him.

There was another of Henry IV.'s sons present at this battle besides Gaston; this was the count of Moret, the natural issue of that monarch and Mademoiselle de Beuil, who ventured his person more than the lawful heir, and would not quit Montmorency, but was slain fighting by his side. This is the count of Moret whom report afterward brought to life and made a hermit; an idle story which was blended with these fatal events.

The taking of Montmorency totally dispirited Gaston, and dispersed the army which he owed wholly to that nobleman.

The prince had now nothing left but to submit. The court sent Bullion, counsellor of state and comptroller of the finances, to him, with a promise of Montmorency's pardon. Nevertheless, this pardon was not stipulated in the treaty the king made with his brother, or rather the amnesty he granted him; it is not acting nobly to deceive the weak and unfortunate; but the cardinal was bent upon humbling the king's brother, and putting Montmorency to death. Gaston himself promised in an article of this treaty to love Cardinal Richelieu.

The fatal end of Montmorency[1] is well known. His punishment was just, though that of Marshal de Marillac had not been so. But the death of so hopeful an officer, who, by his great courage, generosity, and amiable qualifications, had gained the love and esteem of all France, made the cardinal more odious than that of Marillac had done. It has been said that, when he was committed to prison, a bracelet was found on his arm with the picture of Mary de Medici. This circumstance always passed for certain with the court, and is perfectly agreeable to the spirit of the times. Madame de Motteville,

[1] He was tried at Toulouse before commissioners, of whom the chief was an ecclesiastic, Monsieur de l'Aubespine de Châteauneuf, who obtained a dispensation from the pope for being present as judge at a trial for life: but this dispensation could not screen him from the guilt of ingratitude, in condemning a nobleman to whose father he had been page. The duke de Montmorency was beheaded at Toulouse on Oct. 30, 1631, and fell universally regretted, as the most accomplished and amiable nobleman in France.

that princess' confidante, acknowledges in her memoirs that the duke of Montmorency had, like Buckingham, prided himself in being touched by her charms. It was the Spanish *galantería,* somewhat like the Italian *cicisbei,* reminders of chivalry, which, however, did not at all contribute to abate the severity of Louis XIII. Montmorency, before he went to his death, Oct. 30, 1631, bequeathed a famous picture of Caracci to the cardinal. This was not the spirit of the times, but a new turn of thinking inspired by the approach of death, and looked upon by some as an instance of Christian magnanimity, and by others as weakness.

The king's brother, after returning to France only to see his friend and protector die upon the scaffold, and himself banished from the court, and in hourly apprehension for his liberty, once more left the kingdom, and fled to Spain, then joined his mother in Brussels.

Under any other administration, a queen and the presumptive heir of the crown, fled for refuge in an enemy's country, the general discontent that prevailed among all orders of the state, and the blood of a hundred families to be avenged, would have distracted the kingdom under the new circumstances in which Europe then was. Gustavus Adolphus, the scourge of the house of Austria, had been killed on Nov. 16, 1632, in the battle of Lützen, near Leipsic, in the midst of his victories; and the emperor, freed from that powerful enemy, might, in

conjunction with Spain, have overwhelmed France; but for the first time the Swedes maintained themselves in a strange country even after the death of their chief. Germany was also a prey to the same bloody troubles as before, and the Spanish monarchy was every day growing weaker. All cabals then must necessarily sink beneath the cardinal's power, and yet not a day passed without intrigues and factions, of which he was the chief cause himself, by those private weaknesses which are always intermingled with important affairs; and which, in spite of the artifices used to disguise them, disclose the littleness of grandeur. It is pretended that the duchess of Chevreuse, who was always intriguing and still preserved her charms, had by her artifices drawn in the cardinal to have that passion for her with which she wanted to inspire him, and that she made a sacrifice of him to Châteauneuf, the keeper of the seals. Commander de Jars and others had also a share in her confidence. Queen Anne, Louis's consort, had no other consolation in the loss of her credit at court, but that of assisting the duchess of Chevreuse to make contemptible him whom she could not otherwise destroy. The duchess pretended to have an inclination for the cardinal, and formed her intrigues in expectation of his death, which frequent disorders had made seem as near as she could wish.

In 1633 the keeper of the seals was imprisoned without form of trial, because they could not bring

him to trial. Commander de Jars and others who were accused of maintaining a secret correspondence with the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans, were condemned by commissioners to be beheaded. The commander was pardoned upon the scaffold, but the others were executed.

Not only those who were suspected or accused of being in the interest of the duke of Orleans were persecuted, but Charles IV., duke of Lorraine, was made a victim of the cardinal's designs. Louis having made himself master of Nancy in 1635, promised to restore the duke his capital, provided he would put his sister Margaret, who had been privately married to his brother Gaston, into his hands. This match was the source of new disputes and quarrels in the Church and the State: these disputes were of a nature to bring about a great revolution; no less than the succession to the crown was concerned, and there had not happened so important a matter of controversy since that about the Salic law.

The king insisted that his brother's marriage with Margaret of Lorraine should be annulled; and by that means, if a prince should be born of this marriage, he wanted to have this prince, his nephew and heir to the kingdom, declared a bastard, and incapable of inheriting. The marriage of the duke of Orleans had been celebrated in the presence of witnesses, authorized by the father and all the relatives of his wife, consummated, and legally acknowledged by all parties, and solemnly confirmed

by the archbishop of Malines. This marriage was regarded as valid and indissoluble by the whole court of Rome, and all the foreign universities; and even the family of Lorraine declared that it was not in the pope's power to annul it, and that it was an unalterable sacrament.

The welfare of the state required that the princes of the blood should not be allowed to dispose of themselves without the king's will. The same reason might hereafter require them to acknowledge as lawful king of France the issue of this marriage, now declared unlawful, but this danger was not imminent; the voice of present interest prevailed, and it became necessary, notwithstanding the opinion of the Church, that a sacrament like that of marriage should be annulled, if it had not received the previous assent of him who was in the place of father of the family.

An edict of the council did that which Rome and the council had never done; and the king went with the cardinal to the Parliament of Paris in September, 1634, to have it verified. The cardinal spoke at the bed of justice in character of prime minister and peer of France. You may frame some idea of the eloquence of those times from two or three passages in the cardinal's harangue; he said that to convert a soul was more than to create a world; that the king no more dared to touch his mother than he did the ark; and again, that there never happen more than two or three relapses in acute diseases,

unless the noble parts are injured. Almost all his harangue was in this style, and yet it was perhaps as good as any that was delivered at that time. This bad taste which then prevailed was no abasement of the minister's genius; and the spirit of government has at all times been found compatible with false eloquence and false wit. The marriage of the duke of Orleans was solemnly annulled, and even the general assembly of the clergy, in 1635, in conformity with the edict, declared all marriages contracted by the princes of the blood, without the king's consent, to be null and void. The see of Rome, however, did not confirm this law of the Church and State of France.

The situation of the royal family of France became the point of controversy in all Europe. If the presumptive heir to the crown of that kingdom persisted in maintaining the marriage which had been annulled by this law, the children born of that marriage were bastards in France, and could not succeed to their inheritance without a civil war: if he took another wife, the children born of this marriage were bastards at Rome, and would raise a civil war against the children of the first.

The duke of Orleans by his resolution, of which this was the only example, prevented things being brought to such extremities; and a few years afterward the king consented to acknowledge his brother's wife. But that part of the edict which renders null the marriages contracted by the princes

of the blood without the king's consent remains still in force.

This obstinacy of the cardinal, in pushing his revenge against the prince, even to his domestic affairs, in taking from him his wife, in stripping his brother-in-law, the duke of Lorraine, of his dominions, and in keeping the queen-mother in exile and indigence, at length roused the friends of the royal refugees, who entered into a plot to assassinate him. Father Chanteloube, a priest of the oratory, and almoner to Mary de Medici, was juridically accused of having hired murderers, one of whom was broken on the wheel at Metz. There were but few of these attempts; many more had been made against the life of Henry IV., but fanaticism produces greater crimes than the most inveterate hatred.

The cardinal, who was much better guarded than Henry IV., had nothing to fear, and he triumphed over all his enemies. The little court of the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans, which was wandering and desolate, was filled with dissensions and factions, which always attend misfortune.

Richelieu had more powerful enemies to oppose. He resolved, notwithstanding the secret troubles which preyed upon the vitals of the kingdom, to establish the power and reputation of France abroad, and to complete the grand scheme of Henry IV., by making open war with the whole house of Austria, in Germany, Italy, and Spain. By this war he rendered himself necessary to a master who did

not love him, and with whom his enemies were incessantly laboring to ruin him. His reputation was concerned in this undertaking, as the time seemed to be ripe for crushing the Austrian power, now on its decline. Picardy and Champagne were still the limits of France; these limits might be enlarged while the Swedes were still in the empire. The United Provinces were ready to attack the king of Spain in Flanders, provided they could depend upon the least assistance from France. These were the sole motives of the war against the emperor, which continued till the Treaty of Westphalia; and of that against Spain, which lasted for a long time after, till ended by the Treaty of the Pyrenees. All other reasons were only pretences.

The court of France had hitherto endeavored to take advantage of the troubles of Germany, under the title of ally to the Swedes, and mediators in the empire. The Swedes had lost the great battle at Nördlingen, and even their defeat proved serviceable to France, as it brought them to be dependent on that kingdom. Chancellor Oxenstiern came to Compiègne, to do homage to the cardinal's fortune, who was now master of affairs in Germany, which had before been in the chancellor's hands. At the same time he made a treaty with the states-general, to share with them the Spanish Netherlands, which he looked upon as an easy conquest.

Louis XIII. sent a herald-at-arms to Brussels to declare war. This herald was to present a cartel

of defiance to the cardinal-infante, son of Philip III., who was at that time governor of the Low Countries. It is to be observed that this cardinal-prince, agreeable to the customs of those times, had the command of the army, and was one of the chiefs who gained the battle of Nördlingen against the Swedes. In this age we see Cardinals Richelieu, de la Valette, and Sourdis putting on armor and marching at the head of armies. All these customs are now changed. This was the last declaration of war made by a herald-at-arms; since that time each party has thought it sufficient to publish it at home, without sending into the enemy's country to declare it.

Cardinal Richelieu drew the duke of Savoy and the duke of Parma into this alliance: he also made sure of Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weimar, by giving him a pension of four millions of livres a year, and promising him the landgravate of Alsace. None of these events, however, answered the political views with which they were framed. Alsace, which was to be given to Weimar, fell some time later into the hands of France; and Louis XIII., who was in one campaign to share the Spanish Netherlands with the Dutch, lost his army in 1636, and was very near seeing all Picardy fall a prey to the Spaniards. They had actually taken Corbie; and the count of Galas, the imperial general, and the duke of Lorraine, were in the neighborhood of Dijon. The French army were at first unsuccessful on all sides, and stood in

need of the greatest efforts to resist those whom they thought to beat so easily.

In a word, the cardinal saw himself in a very short time on the point of being ruined by that very war which he had raised for the establishment of his own greatness and that of France. His power at court suffered for some time by the failure of public affairs. The duke of Orleans, whose life was a perpetual reflux of quarrels and reconciliations with the king, had returned to France; and the cardinal was obliged to resign the command of the army to this prince and the count of Soissons, who retook Corbie. He now saw himself exposed to the resentment of these two princes. This was a time of conspiracies and duels, as I have already observed. The same persons who afterward, in conjunction with Cardinal de Retz, brought about the first troubles of the Fronde, and were concerned in the barricades, from that time took every opportunity of exercising that factious spirit with which they were devoured. Gaston and the count of Soissons countenanced them in all their attempts against the cardinal. It was resolved to assassinate him even in the king's presence: but the duke of Orleans, who always did things by halves, terrified at the attempt, neglected to give the signal which had been agreed on by the conspirators.

The Imperialists were driven out of Burgundy, and the Spaniards from Picardy. The duke of Weimar was successful in Alsace, and made himself

master of almost all that landgravate which the court of France had guaranteed to him. In fine, after a series of greater advantages than there had been losses, fortune, which preserved the cardinal's life from so many plots against it, preserved his reputation also, which depended on success.

This love of glory impelled him to gain the first place in the empire of wit and learning, even in the most critical situation of national affairs and his own, and in the midst of those attempts to which his life was continually exposed. He erected the French Academy in 1637, and exhibited theatrical pieces in his own palace, in the composition of which he himself had sometimes a share. As soon as the danger was past, he resumed all his wonted pride and fierceness: for it was at this very time that he fomented the first troubles of England, and that he wrote that note which was the forerunner of all the misfortunes of Charles I.: "Before a year has elapsed, the king of England will find that I am not to be despised."

When, in 1638, the prince of Condé was obliged to raise the siege of Fontarabia, after his army was beaten, and the duke de la Valette was accused of not having properly assisted him, he caused that duke, who had fled, to be condemned by a court of commissioners, at which the king himself presided. This was an ancient custom in the constitution of the peerage, when kings were looked upon only as the heads of the peers: but under a government purely monarchial, the presence and opinion of the sov-

ereign had too much influence on the opinions of the judges.

This war of the cardinal's raising was not fully successful till the complete victory gained by the duke of Weimar over the Imperialists, in which he took four generals of the empire prisoners, took possession of Freiburg and Breisach; and till at length the Spanish branch of the house of Austria lost Portugal by the only successful conspiracy which had happened in those times; and afterward lost Catalonia by an open revolt, toward the end of 1640. But before fortune had disposed all these extraordinary events in favor of France, the country was exposed to ruin. The troops began to be ill-paid; Grotius, who was ambassador from Sweden to the court of Paris, says that the finances were badly managed. His observation is very just; for the cardinal was obliged, some time after the loss of Corbie, to create twenty-four new counsellors of the parliament, and one president. Certainly there was no want of new judges, and it was shameful to create them merely for the sake of raising money by the sale of their places. The parliament accordingly complained of it; and all the answer they received was that the cardinal imprisoned five of its magistrates who had represented their grievances like men of spirit. Everyone who dared to oppose him at court, in the parliament, or in the armies, was disgraced, banished, or imprisoned.

Louis XIII. always stood in need of a confidant

called a favorite, who was capable of amusing his melancholy disposition, and of being the depository of his uneasinesses. This post was occupied by the duke of St. Simon; but not having taken sufficient care to keep well with the cardinal, he was driven from court, and banished to Blaye.

The king sometimes devoted himself to the fair sex: he was fond of Mademoiselle de la Fayette, maid of honor to the queen, so far as a weak, scrupulous, and indifferent person could be said to love. The Jesuit, Caussin, the king's confessor, countenanced this connection, as it might prove instrumental in procuring the queen-mother's return. Mademoiselle de la Fayette, at the same time that she encouraged the king's passion, was in the interest of the two queens against the cardinal: but the minister soon prevailed over the mistress and the confessor, as he had done over the two queens. Mademoiselle de la Fayette, through fear of his resentment, immured herself into a convent, and soon afterward — in 1637 — Father Caussin was arrested and sent into banishment in Lower Brittany.

Christina, duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henry IV., widow of Louis Amadeus, and regent of Savoy, had also a Jesuit confessor, who caballed against the court of France, and exasperated his royal penitent against the cardinal. That minister, preferring revenge and the interest of the state to the law of nations, made no scruple of seizing the Jesuit in the

duchess' dominions. The queen consort herself was treated like a common culprit, for having written to the duchess of Chevreuse, who was the cardinal's enemy, and had fled the kingdom. Her papers were seized, and she herself obliged to undergo an examination before Chancellor Séguier.

All these particulars form a faithful portrait of this minister. The same man seemed made to lord it over all the family of the great king, Henry IV., to persecute his widow in foreign countries; to ill-use his son Gaston; to raise factions against his daughter, the queen of England; and lastly, to humble Louis XIII. by making him powerful, and his wife tremble. Thus he passed his whole administration in raising the public hatred and revenging himself; and every year produced new rebellions, and new punishments. The revolt of the count of Soissons was the most dangerous. It was supported by the duke of Bouillon, son of the marshal of that name, who received him into Sedan; by the duke of Guise, grandson to Balafré, who, with the courage of his ancestors, resolved to restore the fortunes of his house; and lastly, by the king of Spain, who furnished him with money and troops from the Low Countries.

The count of Soissons, and the duke of Bouillon had a good army and knew how to conduct it; and for the greater security, it was resolved, while the army was advancing, to assassinate the cardinal and make an insurrection at Paris. Cardinal de Retz, who was at that time very young, served his

first apprenticeship to conspiracies in this plot. The battle of Marfée, gained by the count of Soissons over the king's troops near Sedan, would have greatly encouraged the conspirators; but the death of that prince, who was killed in the engagement, again extricated the cardinal from this new danger. It was now for once out of his power to punish; for he did not know of the conspiracy against his life, and the rebel army was victorious. He therefore found it necessary to enter into a treaty with the duke of Bouillon, who was in possession of Sedan. The duke of Guise, the same who afterward made himself master of Naples, was the only one who suffered on this occasion, being condemned for contumacy in the Parliament of Paris.

The duke of Bouillon, who was restored to favor at court, and outwardly reconciled to the cardinal, swore fidelity, and at the same time formed a new conspiracy. As everyone who was about the king hated his minister, and as the king could not be without a favorite, Richelieu himself gave him one in the person of young Essiat Cinq-Mars, that he might have a creature of his own about the throne. This young man, who was soon made master of the horse, wanted to be in the council, and the cardinal, who would not suffer it, had immediately an irreconcilable enemy in him. What the more emboldened Cinq-Mars to plot against him was the king's own behavior, who being frequently displeased with his minister, and offended with his pride and state, used

to impart his dislike to his favorite, whom he always called his "Dear Friend," and spoke in such sharp terms against Richelieu, that it encouraged Cinq-Mars to propose to his majesty several times to have him assassinated. This is proved by a letter which Louis XIII. himself wrote to Chancellor Séguier. But the king afterward took such a dislike to his favorite that he frequently banished him from his presence; so that Cinq-Mars conceived an equal hatred for Louis and his minister. He had engaged in a correspondence with the count of Soissons before his death, and continued to carry it on with the duke of Bouillon; and the king's brother, who after his many unsuccessful schemes, remained quiet in his appanage of Blois, grown weary at length of a life of idleness, and being importuned by the conspirators, entered into the confederacy. His chief object in all his undertakings was the cardinal's death, a scheme which had been frequently attempted and as often frustrated.

Louis XIII. and Richelieu, who were at that time both attacked by a disorder which was more dangerous than conspiracies, and which soon brought them both to the grave, marched together into Roussillon, in 1642, to divest the house of Austria forever of that province. The duke of Bouillon, whom they should not have intrusted with a command, just after having been in arms against the king, was at the head of an army in Piedmont, against the Spaniards, and at that very time was plotting

with the king's brother and Cinq-Mars. The conspirators made a treaty with Spain for a body of troops to be sent into France in order to throw everything into confusion during a regency, which they looked upon as very near, and of which everyone hoped to take advantage. Cinq-Mars, who at that time had followed the king into Narbonne, was more in his good graces than ever; and Richelieu, who was ill at Tarascon, had lost all his credit, and kept his ground only by being necessary.

The cardinal's good fortune would have it that this plot also should be discovered; a copy of the treaty fell into his hands. This cost Cinq-Mars his life. There was an anecdote handed about by the courtiers of those days, that the king, who was frequently wont to call the master of his horse his "Dear Friend," pulled out his watch at the hour appointed for his execution, and turning to those about him said: "I fancy my Dear Friend makes a very bad figure just now." The duke of Bouillon was put under arrest at the head of his army at Casale. He saved his life because they wanted his principality of Sedan more than his life: and he who had twice betrayed the state, preserved his dignity of prince, and in exchange for Sedan, had lands of a much greater value given him. De Thou, whose only fault was having been privy to the conspiracy, which he at the same time disapproved, was condemned to die for not having revealed it, notwithstanding that he pleaded in excuse that he could not

have been able to prove a deposition of that kind, and that he should have been much more deserving of death had he accused the king's brother of a crime against the state, without sufficient evidence to make good his charge. This obvious justification was not allowed by the cardinal, who was his mortal enemy. The judges condemned him upon a law made by Louis XI., whose name is alone sufficient to prove it to have been a cruel one. The queen herself was privy to the plot; but not being accused, she escaped the mortifications she must otherwise have suffered. As to Gaston, duke of Orleans, he, as usual, impeached his accomplices, and humbled himself, consenting to remain at Blois without guards, or any other of the honors belonging to his dignity; it had been always his fate to bring his friends to a prison or a scaffold.

The cardinal displayed all his haughty rigor in his revenge authorized by justice. He carried the master of the horse after him from Tarascon to Lyons on the Rhone, in a boat fastened to the stern of that in which he himself was; and, though struck with death himself, exulting in the fall of him who was going to suffer by the hand of the executioner. From there the cardinal was carried to Paris upon the shoulders of his guards, in a large litter, where two men could stand by his bedside: a breach was made in the walls of the towns through which he passed, in order to give him a more commodious entrance. He died on Dec. 4, 1642, at the age of

fifty-eight, leaving the king pleased with being rid of him, and yet perplexed with being his own master. It is said that this minister governed after his death, because some vacant places were filled with those of his nomination: but the commissions had been made out before his death; and what proves beyond contradiction that he had already governed too long and had lost his power is, that all those whom he had shut up in the Bastille were released as soon as he was dead, as victims who were no longer to be sacrificed to his vengeance. He left the king three millions of our money, at fifty livres to the mark, which sum he always kept by him in reserve. The expense of his household after he came to be prime minister amounted to a thousand crowns a day. Everything about him was splendid and stately; whereas, in the king's family, all was plain and simple. His guards attended him to the room door whenever he went to his master. He took precedence of all the princes of the blood; he wanted nothing but the crown; and even while he lay on his deathbed, and still entertained hopes of surviving the king, he took measures for being made regent of the kingdom. Henry IV.'s widow died about five months before him, and Louis XIII. followed him about five months later.

It was difficult to say which of the three was most unhappy. The queen-mother, after having been long a wanderer, died very poor in Cologne. The son, though master of a noble kingdom, tasted

neither the sweets of greatness, if it affords any, nor those of society; he was always under a yoke, and always endeavoring to shake it off; in poor health, gloomy, melancholy, and insupportable even to himself; he had not one servant who loved him, he distrusted his own wife, was hated by his brother, deserted by his mistresses, without having experienced the pleasures of love, betrayed by his favorites, and abandoned on the throne. The condition of the meanest of his subjects who lived in peace was infinitely preferable to his.

The cardinal was perhaps the most unhappy of the three, because he was the most hated; and that, though never in good health, he was obliged to support an immense burden with hands imbrued in blood.

In these times of conspiracies and punishments the kingdom was in a flourishing condition; and, notwithstanding the troubles which prevailed, the age of politeness and the liberal arts began to dawn. Louis XIII. contributed nothing toward this change; it was chiefly owing to the care and industry of Cardinal Richelieu. Philosophy, indeed, could not as yet shake off the rust of the schools; but Corneille in 1635 began that famous era of science, known by the name of "The Age of Louis XIV.," by his incomparable tragedy of "The Cid;" Le Poussin equalled Raphael d'Urbin in some parts of painting. Sculpture was soon brought to perfection by Girardon, as may be seen by Riche-

lieu's monument. The French began to make themselves esteemed everywhere by their agreeable and polite manners. In a word, this was the dawn of good taste. The nation was not yet what it became afterward; neither was trade so well cultivated, nor the general police established. The inner parts of the kingdom were yet to be regulated. Paris was the only handsome city, and that lacked many necessary things, as we shall see hereafter in the "Age of Louis XIV." The manner of living, as well as the dress of those times, was in every respect different from what it is at present; insomuch that, were the people of our days to see those of that time, they would not think they saw their fathers. The buskins, the doublet, the cloak, the large ruff, the whiskers, and the little pointed beard would render them as strange to us as their passion for plots, their eagerness for duels, their tavern debaucheries, and their universal ignorance, notwithstanding their natural good sense.

The nation was not so rich as it has since become, either in coined specie or wrought silver; and though the administration drew all it could from the people, it was not able to raise over one-half the annual income of Louis XIV. They were also inferior to us in the riches of industry. The coarse cloth manufactures of Rouen and Elbeuf were the finest then known in France: there was no tapestry, crystal, nor plate glass. The art of watch-making was but in its infancy, and consisted in putting a string upon the fusee of a watch, pendulums not

being then invented. The maritime commerce in the seaports of the Levant was ten times less than it is at present; that of America consisted only in a few furs from Canada; they sent no ships to the East Indies, while the Dutch had large kingdoms there, and the English very considerable settlements.

Consequently there was much less money in the nation than there is at present; the government borrowed at higher interest: the least it gave for annuities at Cardinal Richelieu's death was seven and a half per cent. This may serve as an incontestable proof among many others, that the "Political Will" said to have been made by that minister could not be his. The ignorant and absurd impostor who has forged his name says in the first chapter of the second part, that the possession of these annuities brings in the first purchase money in seven years and a half: he has taken the seventh penny for seven and a half per cent., and does not perceive that the reimbursement of a capital in seven years and a half instead of giving seven and a half, gives fourteen per cent. The whole of what he says throughout this chapter shows him to be equally as ignorant of the first elements of arithmetic as he is of state affairs. I enter into this short detail only to show how mankind may be imposed on by a name: so long as this work of darkness passed for Cardinal Richelieu's, it was extolled for a masterpiece; but those who have discovered this to be a forgery have found it full of errors and falsehoods.

CHAPTER CXLVII.

SPAIN, FROM THE REIGN OF PHILIP II. TILL THAT OF PHILIP IV.

We have seen that, after the death of Philip II., the Spanish monarchs confirmed their absolute power in their own dominions, and insensibly lost their authority in Europe. This decline began to manifest itself in the first year of the reign of Philip III., the weakness of whose character communicated itself to all parts of his administration. It was difficult to extend a constant and equal care and vigilance to the vast possessions in Asia, Africa, America, Italy, and the Netherlands; but his father had overcome these difficulties, and the riches of Mexico, Peru, the Brazils, and the East Indies might have empowered his son to overcome all obstacles. But there was such a remissness in the administration, and such treachery in the management of the public revenues that in the war against the United Provinces there was not money sufficient to pay the Spanish troops, who thereupon mutinied and deserted, to the number of three thousand, over to Prince Maurice. A private stadtholder by a prudent economy was able to pay his troops better than the sovereign of so many kingdoms. Philip III. might have covered the ocean with his fleets, and yet the small provinces of Holland and Zealand were superior to him at sea. With their fleet they took from him the principal

Molucca islands, particularly that of Amboina, which has, ever since 1606, continued in the possession of the Dutch. In a word, these seven small provinces baffled all the forces of this vast monarchy by land, and made themselves superior by sea.

Philip III., though at peace with France and England, and engaged only in this one war, with a newly formed republic, was obliged, in 1609, to conclude a truce of twelve years with it, and to leave it in possession of all it had taken from him; to secure to it its trade in the great Indies; and finally, to restore to the house of Nassau all the possessions it had situated in the lands of the Spanish monarchy. Henry IV. had the glory of concluding this truce by his ambassadors. It is generally the weaker side that asks a truce, and yet Prince Maurice would not apply for one: it was even more difficult to get his consent than that of the king of Spain.

The expulsion of the Moors was still more prejudicial to the monarchy. Philip III. could not crush an inconsiderable number of Hollanders, and yet he was unfortunate enough to be able to expel between six and seven hundred thousand Moors from his dominions. These remains of the ancient conquerors of Spain were for the most part destitute of arms, employed wholly in trade and agriculture, far less formidable in Spain than the Protestants were in France, and much more useful, because they were laborious in a country given up to idleness. They were obliged

to put on the appearance of being Christians: the Inquisition persecuted them without ceasing; this persecution occasioned some few insurrections, but they were very weak and easily quelled. Henry IV. intended to take these people under his protection; but his correspondence with them was discovered by a clerk of the office for foreign affairs; and this discovery occasioned their dispersion. It had already been resolved to drive them out of the kingdom. They made an offer of two millions of gold ducats for permission to breathe the air of Spain, but in vain; the council was inflexible. Twenty thousand of these proscribed wretches took refuge among the mountains; but having no other arms than slings and stones they were soon put to the rout. Two whole years were taken up in transporting subjects out of the kingdom, and depopulating the state. Philip thus deprived himself of the most laborious part of his subjects, instead of imitating the Turks, who knew how to keep the Greeks under proper subjection, without obliging them to seek for settlements in foreign countries.

The greater part of these Spanish Moors took refuge in Africa, their ancient country; some removed to France during the regency of Mary de Medici; those who would not renounce their religion embarked from the ports of that kingdom for Tunis; a few families, who embraced the Christian faith, settled in Provence and Languedoc, and some in Paris, where Moors were not unknown: but at

length these refugees were incorporated with the rest of the nation, who profited by the fault of the Spanish monarch, which it afterward imitated by the expulsion of the reformers. Thus have all nations been intermingled, and one people swallowed up in another, sometimes by persecutions and at other times by conquests.

This great emigration, added to that which happened under Ferdinand and Isabella, and to the numerous colonies which avarice had transplanted into the new world, insensibly exhausted Spain of its inhabitants, and that monarchy soon became a mighty body without substance. Superstition, the vice of weak minds, was another subject of disgrace to the reign of Philip III.; his court was only a chaos of intrigues, like that of Louis XIII. These two princes could not live without favorites, nor reign without prime ministers. The duke of Lerma, who was afterward cardinal, governed for a long time both king and kingdom, till the general confusion of affairs drove him from his place. He was succeeded by his son; but the kingdom was not the better for it.

The disorder in the state increased under the reign of Philip IV., son of Philip III. His favorite, the count-duke of Olivarez, made him take the surname of Great on his accession to the throne. Had he been really so he would not have needed a prime minister. Europe and his own subjects refused him this title; and afterward, in 1621, when he lost Rous-

sillon by the inferiority of his arms, Portugal by his negligence, and Catalonia by the abuse he made of his power, the public voice gave him a ditch for his device, with these words: "The more is taken from it, the greater it is."

This fine kingdom was at that time weak without doors, and miserable within. It was a stranger to all kinds of police. Its domestic commerce was ruined by the duties which they continued to raise from one province to another. Every one of these provinces had formerly been a petty kingdom, and the ancient customs were still kept up. What had formerly been a necessary law was now an absolute burden. The government did not know how to unite all these different parts into a uniform whole. The same error has been introduced into France; but in Spain it was carried to such an excess, that it was forbidden even to carry money out of one province into another. No industry seconded the gifts of nature in this happy climate: neither the silks of Valencia, nor the fine woollen stuffs of Andalusia and Castile were made by the hands of the natives. Fine linen clothes were an article of luxury then but little known. The Flemish manufacturers, the remains of the establishments of the house of Burgundy, furnished Madrid with all it then knew of magnificence. Gold and silver stuffs were prohibited in the kingdom, as in an indigent republic, afraid of being impoverished. And indeed, notwithstanding the mines of the new world, Spain

was so poor that Philip IV.'s ministry was reduced to the necessity of coining copper money, and giving it a price nearly equivalent to that of silver; so that the master of Mexico and Peru was obliged to make use of counterfeit coin to defray the expenses of the state. They did not dare, according to the wise Gourville, to impose personal taxes, because as the burghers and the country people had hardly any movables they could never be compelled to pay the sums assessed upon them. Never was the saying of Charles V. more completely verified: "France abounds in everything, Spain wants everything."

The reign of Philip IV. was only a series of losses and disgraces; and Olivarez was as unfortunate in his administration as Cardinal Richelieu was happy in his.

The Dutch, who began the war again in 1625, at the expiration of the twelve years' truce, took the Brazils from Spain, of which they still retain Surinam. They also took Maestricht, which still continues in their possession. Philip's armies were driven out of Valtelline and Piedmont by the French, without a declaration of war, and at length, after war was declared in 1635, his arms proved unsuccessful in all parts. Artois was invaded; Catalonia, jealous of its privileges, upon which he had made encroachments, revolted and put itself under the dominion of France. Portugal shook off his yoke; and by a conspiracy as vigorously executed as it had been well conducted, the family of

Braganza was seated on the throne of that kingdom. Olivarez had the confusion of having himself contributed to this great revolution by sending money to the duke of Braganza to take from him all pretence of not coming to Madrid. With this very money the duke paid the conspirators.

The revolution was not difficult. Olivarez had been imprudent enough to recall a Spanish garrison from Lisbon. There were few troops left to guard the kingdom. The people were exasperated with a new tax that was going to be levied upon them; and, to complete all, the prime minister, thinking to deceive the duke of Braganza, had given him the command of the arsenal. The duchess of Mantua, who was vice-queen, was driven out of the kingdom, without a single person to stir in her defence. A Spanish secretary of state and one of his clerks were the only victims sacrificed to the public vengeance. All the towns in Portugal followed the example of Lisbon, almost in the same day. Don John of Braganza was universally proclaimed king without the least disturbance; a son does not succeed more peaceably to the possessions of his father. Ships were despatched from Lisbon to all the cities of Asia and Africa, and to all the islands belonging to the crown of Portugal, and they all with one accord expelled the Spanish governors. All that part of the Brazils that had not been taken from the Spaniards by the Dutch, returned under the Portuguese dominion; and at length the Dutch made a league with the

new king, Don John of Braganza, and restored to him what they had taken from the Spaniards in the Brazils.

The Azores, Mozambique, Goa, and Macao were animated with the same spirit as Lisbon. It seemed as if the conspiracy had been previously concerted in all these towns. It everywhere appeared how disagreeable a sovereign ruler is, and at the same time how badly the Spanish ministry had provided for the preservation of so many states.

It was also seen how kings are flattered in their misfortunes, and how carefully disagreeable truths are disguised to them. The manner in which Olivarez acquainted Philip IV. with the loss of Portugal is famous: "I come to bring your majesty good news," said that artful minister, "all the duke of Braganza's estates are fallen to you; he has taken it into his head to have himself declared king, and by his crime your majesty is entitled to the confiscation of all his estates." This confiscation, however, did not take place; Portugal became a considerable kingdom, especially when by the riches of Brazil, and its treaties with England, it established a flourishing trade.

Olivarez, master of the Spanish monarchy, and rival of Cardinal Richelieu, was at length disgraced for having been unsuccessful. These two ministers had long been kings, the one in France and the other in Spain; both had the royal family, the grandees of the kingdom, and the people, their enemies,

They were both very different in their characters, their virtues and their vices. The count-duke was as reserved, mild, and gentle as the cardinal was lively, haughty, and cruel. It was Richelieu's activity which continued him in the administration, and gave him almost always the ascendant over Olivarez. The Spanish minister lost everything by his negligence. He died the death of all disgraced ministers; it is said that vexation kills them; but it is not so much the vexation of being left in solitude after the hurry they have been accustomed to, as the vexation of knowing that they are hated, and cannot avenge themselves. Cardinal Richelieu shortened his days in a different manner, by the uneasiness with which he was devoured in the fulness of his power.

After all the losses that the Spanish branch of the house of Austria had sustained, it still retained more dominions that the kingdom of Spain now possesses. The duchy of Milan, Flanders, Naples, and Sicily belonged to that monarchy; and notwithstanding its administration, it continued to give great uneasiness to France, till the Peace of the Pyrenees.

From the time of Philip II. until Philip IV. the Spaniards were famous for the arts of genius. Their stage, imperfect as it was, was still superior to that of other nations, and served as a model for the English theatre: and later, when tragedy began to appear with some degree of lustre in

France, it borrowed a great deal from the Spanish stage. History, pleasing romances, ingenious fictions, and morality were carried to a still greater perfection in Spain than the drama; but sound philosophy was always unknown to them. The Inquisition and superstition perpetuated the errors of the schools. Mathematics were very little cultivated, and the Spaniards almost always employed Italian engineers in their wars. They had some painters of the second rank, but never any school for painting. Architecture did not make any great progress among them. The Escorial was built after a Frenchman's design. The mechanical arts were still in a rude state. The magnificence of the noblemen consisted in great heaps of silver plate and a number of servants.

There was an ostentatious kind of generosity practised in the houses of the grandees, which deceived strangers, and was customary nowhere but in Spain; this was to distribute all the money won at play among the bystanders, of whatsoever condition. Montresor states that when the duke of Lerma received Gaston, brother of Louis XIII., and his retinue in the Low Countries, he displayed a still more extraordinary kind of magnificence. This minister, at whose house Gaston remained for several days, caused two thousand louis d'or to be laid every day upon a large gaming table for the prince's retinue and himself to divert themselves at play.

The entertainments of bull-fighting were very fre-

quent, as they still are; this was a most magnificent and gallant spectacle, and at the same time the most cruel. At the same time there was a total want of the conveniences of life. The want of these conveniences was greatly increased after the expulsion of the Moors. Hence it comes to pass that you travel in Spain as you would in the deserts of Arabia; the towns being destitute of every kind of convenience. Society was as little improved as the handicrafts. The women, who were almost as closely confined as those in Africa, comparing this slavery with the liberty enjoyed by those of their sex in France, became doubly miserable. This restraint brought to perfection an art unknown to us, that of discoursing with the fingers. In this manner only did a lover explain himself under his mistress' window, who at the same time opened one of those little window grates called jalousies, which supplied the place of sashes, and answered him in the same language. Everyone played upon the guitar, and yet it did not enliven the general gloom that was spread over the face of the whole country. The practice of religious duties supplied the place of other occupations among the common people, who were all unemployed. It was said then that pride, devotion, love, and idleness composed the character of the Spanish nation; but at the same time there were none of those bloody revolutions, conspiracies, and cruel punishments which were so frequent in the other courts of Europe. Neither the

duke of Lerma nor Count Olivarez shed the blood of their enemies on the scaffold: their kings were not assassinated there as in France; nor did they fall, as in England, by the hand of the executioner.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

THE GERMANS, UNDER RUDOLPH II., MATTHIAS, AND FERDINAND II. — MISFORTUNES OF THE ELECTOR PALATINE FREDERICK — CONQUESTS OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS — PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

WHILE France was reviving under Henry IV.; while England flourished under its Elizabeth, and while Spain was the preponderating power in Europe under Philip II., Germany and the North did not attract so much attention.

If we consider Germany as the seat of the empire, that empire was but an empty name; and it may be observed, that from the abdication of Charles V. till the reign of Leopold, it never had any credit in Italy. The coronations at Rome and Milan were suppressed, as useless ceremonies, which had before been looked upon as essential; but after Ferdinand I., the brother and successor of Charles V., had neglected to make the journey to Rome, it began to be thought of no consequence. The pretensions of the emperors to Rome, and that of the popes to the bestowal of the imperial dignity, fell insensibly into oblivion; all was confined to a letter of congratu-

lation, which the supreme pontiff writes to the emperor-elect. Germany still retained the title of empire, though weak, as being always a prey to divisions. It was, in fact, a republic of princes, of which the emperor was chief; and these princes, having pretensions upon one another, were almost always engaged in a civil war, either private or public, which was continually fed by their contrary interests, and by the three different religions then in Germany, which were still more contrary than the interests of the princes.

It was impossible that this vast state, divided into so many detached principalities, destitute of trade at that time, and consequently of riches, could have much influence on the system of Europe. It was not strong without doors, but it was within, because it was always an industrious and warlike nation. Had the Germanic constitution fallen to decay, had the Turks invaded one part of Germany, and the other had called in foreign masters, politicians would not have failed to declare that Germany, already torn in pieces by intestine divisions, could not subsist any longer, and would have demonstrated that the peculiar form of its government, the great number of its princes, and the plurality of religions had necessarily prepared the way to ruin and inevitable slavery. The causes of the decline of the ancient Roman Empire were not nearly so obvious, and yet the Germanic body has remained unshaken, while it carried in its bosom everything that appeared most likely

to overturn it; and it is difficult to ascribe this permanence of constitution to any other cause than the genius of the nation.

Germany had lost Metz, Toul, and Verdun in 1552, during the reign of Charles V., but this territory, which belonged to ancient France, might be considered rather as an excrescence of the Germanic body than as a natural part of the state. Neither Ferdinand I. nor his successors had made the least attempt to recover those towns. The emperors of the house of Austria, after they became kings of Hungary, had always the Turk to fear, and were not in a condition to disturb France, weak as she was, from the time of Francis II. until Henry IV. The princes of Germany might plunder her, while the Germanic body could not assemble all its forces to destroy her.

Ferdinand I. vainly endeavored to reconcile the three religions which divided the empire, and to unite the princes, who were frequently at war with one another. The old maxim, "Divide to reign," by no means suited him; Germany must be united before he could be powerful; but it was so far from being in a state of union that it was dismembered. It was in his reign that the Teutonic Knights gave the Poles Livonia, which was reputed a province of the empire, and which at present is in possession of the Russians. The making of all the bishoprics in Brandenburg and Saxony secular was not a dismembering of the state, but only a great change, which

made those princes more powerful, and the emperor weaker.

Maximilian II. was still less the sovereign than Ferdinand I. Had the empire preserved any remains of its vigor, he would have supported his right to the Netherlands, which was undoubtedly a province of the empire, and of which the emperor and the diet were the proper judges. These people, therefore, who had so long been called rebels, should have been put by the laws under the ban of the empire; and yet Maximilian suffered the prince of Orange, William the Silent, to carry on the war in the Netherlands, at the head of German troops, without interfering in the quarrel. This emperor in vain caused himself to be elected king of Poland in the year 1575, after the departure of Henry III., which was looked upon as an abdication; for Báthori, the vaivode of Transylvania, and the emperor's own vassal, carried it before his sovereign; and the Ottoman court, under whose protection Báthori then was, proved more powerful than the court of Vienna.

Rudolph II., who succeeded Maximilian II., held the reins of the empire with a still feebler hand. He was at the same time emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary, but he had no influence either in Bohemia, Hungary, or Germany, and still less in Italy. Rudolph's reign seems to prove that there is no general rule in politics.

This prince was esteemed more incapable of gov-

erning than even Henry III. of France. Henry's conduct cost him his life, and almost occasioned the loss of the kingdom. Rudolph's conduct, though much weaker, caused not the least trouble in Germany. The reason is that, in France, all the nobles wanted to establish their own power on the ruins of the throne, and the German princes were already established.

There are times which absolutely require the prince to be a warrior; Rudolph, who was not such, saw his kingdom of Hungary overrun by the Turks. Germany was at that time so badly governed that they were obliged to go begging to raise money for opposing the Ottoman conquests. Begging-boxes were fixed up at the doors of all the churches. This was the first war that had been carried on by charity: it was looked upon as a kind of holy war, but it was not the more successful on that account; and had it not been for the troubles in the seraglio, it is probable that Hungary would have remained forever in the hands of the Porte.

In Germany, under this emperor, the same thing happened that had lately been seen in France under Henry III.— a Catholic league in opposition to a Protestant one, without the sovereign having it in his power to put a stop to the proceedings of either. Religion, which had long been the cause of so many troubles in the empire, was now only the pretext. The affair in question was the succession of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers; this was another

consequence of feudal government, and there was no other way of deciding the possession of these fiefs but by arms. The houses of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Neuberg disputed for them. The archduke Leopold, the emperor's cousin, had taken possession of Cleves till the affair should be decided. This dispute, as we have already seen, was the sole cause of the death of Henry IV. He was preparing to march to the assistance of the Protestant leaguers, at the head of a well-disciplined army, attended by the greatest generals of the age, and the best ministers in Europe; this victorious prince was ready to take advantage of the weakness of Rudolph and Philip III.

The death of Henry IV., which rendered this great enterprise abortive, did not make Rudolph more happy. He had ceded Hungary, Austria, and Moravia to his brother Matthias, at the time the king of France was preparing to march against him: and even when he was delivered from so formidable an enemy, he was still obliged to yield Bohemia to this Matthias, and lead a private life, though with the title of emperor.

Everything in his empire was done without him; he did not even interfere in the extraordinary affair of Gerhard de Truchses, elector of Cologne, who wanted to keep his archbishopric and his wife at the same time, and who was driven from his electorate by force of arms by his own canons, and the person who was his competitor. This extraordinary apathy

to public affairs arose from a principle still more extraordinary in an emperor; the study of philosophy, to which he was particularly addicted, had taught him everything that he could know at that time, except to discharge the duties of a sovereign. He preferred instructing himself in astronomy under the famous Tycho Brahe, to governing the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia.

The famous astronomical tables of Tycho Brahe and Kepler bear the name of this emperor, being called the Rudolphine tables, as those which were formed in the twelfth century in Spain, by two Arabians, bore the name of King Alphonso. The Germans principally distinguished themselves in this century by the beginnings of true natural philosophy. They had never succeeded in the liberal arts like the Italians; indeed they never applied themselves to them. The gift of invention in the natural sciences belongs only to those of an unwearied and industrious disposition; and the Germans had for a long time been remarkable for this kind of genius, which had communicated itself to their northern neighbors. Tycho Brahe was a native of Denmark. It was no small matter of surprise, especially at that time, to see a private gentleman of Denmark expend one hundred thousand crowns of his own fortune in building, with the assistance of Frederick II., king of that country, not only an observatory, but a small town inhabited by learned

men, to which he gave the name of Uranienborg,[1] or the Starry City. Tycho Brahe had indeed the weakness to give in to judicial astrology; but he was no less a good astronomer and a skilful mechanic. He had the fate of most great men, he was persecuted by his own countrymen after his protector was dead; but he found another in the emperor Rudolph,

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[1] Uranienborg would be better translated "Heavenburgh," for Οὐρανός signifies *cœlum*, not *astrum*. Tycho Brahe was a strange composition of learning and superstition, of good sense and absurdity. He lost his nose in a nocturnal squabble at Rostock, and is said to have made and fitted on an artificial one so dexterously that the defect could not be perceived. He was not only a mathematician and mechanic, but a chemist, an alchemist, a physician, and poet. By his system the earth is immovable, as a centre, round which the sun and moon perform their revolutions. He supposes the earth also to be the centre of the *primum mobile;* and the sun to be the centre of motion for the planets Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Having rejected the diurnal rotation of the earth upon its axis, he was obliged to retain the most absurd part of the Ptolemaic system, and to suppose the whole universe, to its farthest extent, was carried by the *primum mobile* about the axis of the earth every day. Notwithstanding these errors, his labors were of great service to astronomy. He discovered the refraction of the air, and determined the places of a great number of the fixed stars, with an accuracy unknown to former astronomers. He demonstrated that comets were higher than the moon, from their having a very small parallax: he discovered what is called the variation in the moon's motion; and from his series of observations on the other planets, the theories of their motions were afterward corrected and improved.

who made him amends for all his losses and the injustice of courts.

Copernicus had discovered the true system of the world before Tycho Brahe had invented his, which is at best but an ingenious thought. This ray of science, which now enlightens the world, came first from the little town of Thorn, in Polish Prussia, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Kepler,[1] who was a native of the duchy of Würtemberg, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, found out the mathematical laws of the course of the stars, and was looked upon as a lawgiver in astronomy. Chancellor Bacon at that time proposed some new sciences; but Copernicus and Kepler invented them. Never had greater efforts been made

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[1] This philosopher discovered the true figures of the orbits, and the proportions of the motions of the solar system. He found that each planet moves in an ellipse, which has one of its foci in the centre of the sun; that the motion of each is really unequable, varying in such a manner that a ray supposed to be always drawn from the planet to the sun, describes equal areas in equal times. He discovered the analogy between the distances of several planets from the sun, and the periods in which they complete their revolutions. He perceived that the higher planets not only moved in greater circles, but also more slowly than those that are nearer; so that, on a double account, their periodic times were greater. Yet Kepler, with all his merit, was in some things a mere visionary, who gave in to dreams of analogies and harmonies, endeavoring to find some relation between the dimensions of the five regular solids and the intervals of the planetary spheres.

in the most learned ages of antiquity, nor had Greece been adorned with more noble discoveries; but the other arts flourished at the same time in Greece; whereas in Germany natural philosophy alone was cultivated, and that only by a few learned men, unknown to the multitude, who still continued in ignorance. There were whole provinces where the people scarcely had the gift of thinking, and knew only how to hate each other on account of religion.

At length the two leagues, Catholic and Protestant, plunged Germany into a civil war of thirty years, which reduced it to a more deplorable condition than that of France, before the peaceful and happy reign of Henry IV.

In 1619, at the death of the emperor Matthias, who was Rudolph's successor, the empire was about to pass from the house of Austria; but Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, found means to unite the suffrages in his own favor. Maximilian of Bavaria, who was his competitor in the empire, yielded it to him; he even went farther, for he supported the imperial throne at the expense of his blood and treasures, and fixed the greatness of that house, which afterward crushed his own. Two branches of the house of Bavaria, had they been united, might have changed the fate of Germany. These two branches were the elector palatine and the duke of Bavaria; but there were two powerful obstacles to their union, rivalship and a difference in religions. Frederick, the elector palatine, was one of the most

unfortunate princes of his time, and the cause of long and heavy misfortunes to Germany.

Notions of liberty never prevailed more strongly in Europe than at this time. Even Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria were as jealous of their privileges as the English themselves. This spirit had reigned in Germany ever since the time of Charles V. The example of the seven United Provinces was continually present with these people, who pretended to the same rights, and thought themselves more powerful than those of Holland. When the emperor Matthias, in 1618, got his cousin, Ferdinand de Gratz, elected nominal king of Hungary and Bohemia, and made the other archdukes yield him Austria, the people of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria complained equally that sufficient regard had not been shown to the privilege of states. Religion made a part of the grievances of the Bohemians, who then became furious. The Protestants wanted to rebuild the churches which had been thrown down by the Catholics; the council of state issued a declaration against the Protestants; upon which they broke into the town hall, in 1618, and threw three of the principal magistrates out of the window into the street. This shows the fury of the people, a fury which always exceeds the tyranny of which they complain. But what is strange is that the rebels pretended by a manifesto that they had only acted in pursuance of the laws, and that they had a right to break the necks of those ministers who went about to

oppress them. Austria sided with the Bohemians, and it was in the midst of these troubles that Ferdinand de Gratz was elected emperor.

His new dignity made no impression upon the Protestants of Bohemia, who were at that time formidable; they considered themselves entitled to depose the king whom they had elected, and actually made a tender of the throne to Frederick, the elector palatine, son-in-law of James I. of England, who accepted, though he had no forces to maintain himself on it. Maximilian of Bavaria, with the imperial troops and his own, defeated him at Prague, Nov. 10, 1620; and wrested from him his crown and palatinate.

This fatal day was the beginning of thirty years' slaughter. The victory of Prague determined for some time the ancient quarrel between the empire and the emperor, by making Ferdinand II. despotic. In 1621 he put the elector palatine under the ban of the empire by a private arret of his aulic council, and proscribed all the princes and noblemen of his party, in defiance of the imperial articles, which could bind only the weaker side.

The elector palatine fled into Silesia, Denmark, Holland, England, and France. This unfortunate prince always failed, and was deprived of every resource on which he depended. He met with no assistance from his father-in-law, the king of England, who shut his ears to the cries of his nation, the solicitations of his son-in-law, and the Protestant

interest, of which he might have been the head. Louis XIII. refused him aid, although it was visibly his interest to prevent the princes of Germany from being oppressed. Louis was not at that time under the direction of Cardinal Richelieu. The palatine family and the Protestant league were soon reduced to depend on no other assistance than that of two warriors, who were each at the head of a little vagabond army, like the Italian Condottieri: one of these was the prince of Brunswick, whose whole dominions consisted in the government, or rather usurpation, of the bishopric of Halberstadt; and who took the title of "The Friend of God and the Enemy of the Priests;" which latter title he certainly deserved, since he subsisted entirely on plundering the churches: the other support of this already ruined party was a bastard adventurer of the house of Mansfeld, as well deserving the title of "Enemy of the Priests" as the duke of Brunswick. These two defenders might very well contribute to ravage a part of Germany, but could never be of any service in restoring the palatine, or settling the equilibrium of princes.

The emperor, whose power in Germany was now confirmed, assembled a diet at Ratisbon, in 1623, in which he declared that the elector palatine, having been guilty of high treason, his estates, goods, and dignities were fallen to the imperial demesnes; but that, not being willing to diminish the number of the electors, he willed, commanded, and ordered

Maximilian of Bavaria to be invested with the electorate palatine. He bestowed this investiture from his throne; his vice-chancellor declaring aloud that the emperor conferred this dignity "by the plenitude of his power."

The Protestant league, now on the point of being crushed, made fresh efforts to prevent its total ruin. It chose Christian IV., king of Denmark, for its head; England supplied it with some money; but neither the money of the English, the troops of Denmark, nor yet the arms of Brunswick or Mansfeld availed aught against the emperor, and only served to lay Germany waste. Ferdinand II. triumphed over all opposition by his two generals, the duke of Wallenstein and Count Tilly. The king of Denmark was always defeated at the head of his armies; and Ferdinand, without stirring from home, was victorious and all-powerful.

He put the duke of Mecklenburg, one of the chiefs of the Protestant association, under the ban of the empire, and gave his duchy to his general Wallenstein. He in like manner proscribed Duke Charles of Mantua for having, contrary to his orders, taken possession of the country which belonged to him by right of inheritance. Mantua was taken and sacked by the imperial troops, who spread terror throughout all Italy. He began to tighten the ancient chain which had linked Italy to the empire, and which had been slackened for a long time. One hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, living at

discretion in Germany, gave him absolute power. This power was exercised over a people then under very unhappy circumstances, as we may judge by the state of the coin at that time, the numerical value of which was four times greater than its original value, and was at the same time greatly adulterated. The duke of Wallenstein declared publicly that the time was at length come for reducing the electors to the condition of the dukes and peers of France, and the bishops to that of chaplains to the emperor. This was the Wallenstein who afterward aimed at becoming independent, and who had endeavored to pull down his superiors only to rise upon their ruin.

But the use Ferdinand II. made of his good fortune and power was what destroyed both his plans. He pretended to interpose his authority in the affairs of Sweden and Poland, and to oppose Gustavus Adolphus, who was supporting the pretensions of his family against Sigismund, king of Poland, this emperor's relative; and he himself paved the way to his own ruin, by forcing this young prince to invade Germany, and by reducing the Protestants to despair.

Ferdinand II. thought himself powerful enough to break the Peace of Passau, made by Charles V., and to order, by his sole authority, all the princes and great lords to restore the bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices which they had secured possession of. This edict was a greater stretch of power than that

by which the Edict of Nantes was revoked under Louis XIV. These two similar attempts were attended with very different success. Gustavus Adolphus, being invited by the Protestant princes, whom the king of Denmark no longer dared to assist, entered Germany to avenge them and himself.

The emperor wanted to re-establish the Church, that he might be its master, and Cardinal Richelieu opposed him in this design; even the court of Rome joined against him, the fear of his power being greater than their regard for the interests of religion. It was no more extraordinary that the most Christian king's minister, and even the court of Rome itself, should engage in the support of the Protestant cause, against a formidable emperor, than it had been to see Francis I. and Henry II. in alliance with the Turks against Charles V.

When one man has done many great things, we are fond of ascribing all to him. It is a common but mistaken notion in France that Cardinal Richelieu was the only person who caused Gustavus to turn his arms against Germany, and that the revolution there was entirely owing to his schemes; but it is evident that he did nothing more than take advantage of opportunities. Ferdinand II. had, in fact, declared war against Gustavus; he attempted to seize Livonia, which that young conqueror had made himself master of; he supported Sigismund, who was his competitor in the kingdom of Sweden, and

he refused him the title of king. Interest, revenge, and pride called Gustavus into Germany; and even if the French ministry had not assisted him with money, when in Pomerania, he would still have tried the fortune of arms in a war that was already begun.

He was victorious in Pomerania in 1631, at the time France made its treaty with him. The single payment of three hundred thousand crowns, and an allowance of one million two hundred thousand francs a year, was neither an important object, a great effort in politics, nor a sufficient aid. Gustavus did everything by himself. Having entered Germany with less than fifteen thousand men, his number soon increased to forty thousand, by raising recruits in a country that furnished subsistence for them, and by making Germany itself contribute to his conquests in Germany. He obliged the elector of Brandenburg to secure to him the fortress of Spandau and all the passes, and compelled the elector of Saxony to give him the command of his own troops.

On Sept. 17, 1631, he totally defeated the imperial army commanded by Count Tilly, before the gates of Leipsic, and reduced all the places from the banks of the Elbe to the Rhine. He reinstated the duke of Mecklenburg in his dominions at one end of Germany, and almost at the same instant he appeared at the other end, in the Palatinate, after taking the city of Mentz in his march.

The emperor, who remained all this time motionless in Vienna, and saw himself, in less than one

campaign, fallen from his formidable greatness, was now obliged to solicit Pope Urban VIII. for a supply of men and money, and was refused. He then endeavored to engage the court of Rome to publish a crusade against Gustavus. Instead of a crusade, the holy father promised a jubilee. Gustavus in the meantime marched victorious through all Germany, and brought the elector palatine to Munich, who had at least the consolation of being in the palace of him who had deposed him. This unfortunate prince was now on the point of being restored to his palatinate, and even to the crown of Bohemia, by the hand of the conqueror, when, in the second battle near Leipsic, fought Nov. 6, 1632, in the plains of Lützen, Gustavus was slain in the midst of victories. His death proved fatal to the palatine, who, being at that time ill, and despairing of any further resource, put an end to his unhappy life.

Let those who inquire how the swarms of barbarians who formerly came out of the North conquered the Roman Empire cast their eyes upon what was performed by Gustavus in the space of two years, against a more warlike people than the Romans were at that time, and they will be no longer astonished.

It is a circumstance well worthy of attention that neither the death of Gustavus nor the minority of his daughter, Christina, queen of Sweden, nor the bloody defeat which the Swedes sustained at Nördlingen, prejudiced these conquests. It was then that

the French ministry played the principal part in the affairs of Germany; it gave laws to the Swedes and the Protestant princes of Germany, while it supported them; and this first gained the king of France Alsace, at the expense of the house of Austria.

Gustavus Adolphus had left behind him very great generals, who were trained by himself; this has happened to almost all conquerors. These generals were seconded by a hero of the house of Saxony, Duke Bernard of Weimar, a descendant of the ancient electoral branch who had been deprived of their dominion by Charles V., and who yet breathed revenge against the house of Austria. This prince had nothing to depend upon but a small army which he had raised in the troublesome times, and disciplined himself, and whose swords were their only support. This army, as well as that of the Swedes, was then paid by the French. The emperor, who never stirred out of his closet, had no great general left to oppose to them; he had deprived himself of the only person who was capable of restoring the glory of his arms and throne; he was fearful that the famous Wallenstein, to whom he had given an unlimited power over his armies, should make use of so dangerous a power against him, and caused that general, who aimed at independency, to be assassinated on Feb. 3, 1634.

In this way did Ferdinand I. rid himself of Cardinal Martinusius, who had grown too powerful in

Hungary; and Henry III., in like manner, caused the cardinal and the duke of Guise to be murdered.

Had Ferdinand II. commanded his troops in person, as he should have done in such a critical juncture, he would not have had occasion to employ this weak revenge, which he thought necessary, and which after all did not make him more happy.

Never was Germany more completely humbled than at this time: a Swedish chancellor ruled in that empire, and kept all Protestant princes in subjection. This was the famous Oxenstiern, who, animated in the beginning with the spirit of his master, Gustavus, would not suffer the French to share the fruits of that prince's conquests; but, after the battle of Nördlingen, he was obliged to entreat the French minister to deign to take possession of Alsace, under the title of its protector. Richelieu promised Alsace to Bernard of Weimar, and at the same time did all in his power to secure it to France. Hitherto the French ministry had temporized and acted in an underhanded way; but now it pulled off the mask, and declared war against the two branches of the house of Austria, who were weakened in Spain and Germany. Such was the issue of this thirty years' war. France, Sweden, Holland, and Savoy attacked the house of Austria at the same time, and the real system of Henry IV. was now followed.

On Feb. 15, 1637, Ferdinand II. died, at the age of fifty-nine, after a reign of eighteen years, con-

stantly disturbed with foreign or domestic wars, and having never fought but from his cabinet. He was very unhappy, because in the midst of his successes he thought himself obliged to exercise acts of cruelty, and afterward he experienced a great reverse. Germany was still more unhappy than himself; ravaged alternately by its own inhabitants, by the Swedes, and by the French; a prey to famine and want, and overrun with barbarism, the inevitable consequence of a long and unsuccessful war.

This emperor has been praised as a great prince, and yet Germany was never so miserable as under his government. It was comparatively happy under that Rudolph who is so generally despised.

Ferdinand II. left the empire to his son, Ferdinand III., who was already king of the Romans; but he left only a dismembered empire, of which France and Sweden shared the spoils.

During the reign of Ferdinand III., the Austrian power daily declined. The Swedes, who had settled in Germany, remained there; France, joined with them, still continued to assist the Protestant party with money and arms; and, though she herself was embarrassed with an unsuccessful war against Spain, and her ministry had frequently conspiracies or civil wars to suppress, nevertheless she triumphed over the empire, as a wounded man, with a little assistance, overcomes his enemy who is more deeply wounded than himself. Duke Bernard of Weimar, the descendant of the unfortunate duke of Saxony,

who had been dispossessed by Charles V., avenged the sufferings of his family on the house of Austria. He had been one of Gustavus' generals, who to a man maintained the glory of Sweden after their master's death; and he was the most fatal of all of them to the emperor. At first, indeed, he lost the great battle of Nördlingen; but afterward, having with French money got together an army who acknowledged no other master than himself, in less than four months he gained four battles against the imperialists. He had even thoughts of raising a sovereignty to himself along the borders of the Rhine. The court of France had guaranteed Alsace to him by treaty.

This new conqueror died in 1639, at the age of thirty-five, and bequeathed his army to his brothers, as a person bequeaths an estate. But France, who had more money than Weimar's brothers, bought this army, and carried on its conquests for herself. The marshal de Guébriant, the viscount of Turenne, and the duke of Enghien, afterward the great Condé, finished what the duke of Weimar had begun. The Swedish generals, Bannier and Torstenson, pressed Austria on one side, while Turenne and Condé attacked it on the other.

Ferdinand III., wearied out with so many shocks, was at length — in 1648 — obliged to conclude the Peace of Westphalia. By this famous treaty the French and the Swedes gave laws to Germany in politics and religion. The dispute between the

emperors and the princes of the empire, which had lasted for more than seven hundred years, was at length happily terminated.

Germany was a great aristocracy, composed of a king, electors, princes, and imperial cities. This empire, which was already almost exhausted, was obliged, moreover, to pay six millions of rix-dollars to the Swedes, who had ravaged it and made it sue for peace. The kings of Sweden became princes of the empire, by the cession made to them of the finest provinces of Pomerania, Stettin, Wismar, Rügen, Verden, Bremen, and several other important territories. The king of France became landgrave of Alsace, without being a prince of the empire.

The Palatine family was at length restored to all its rights, excepting in the Upper Palatinate, which continued with the branch of Bavaria. The claims of the meanest private gentleman were discussed before the plenipotentiaries, as in a supreme court of justice. There were a hundred and forty decrees of restitution ordered, all which were complied with. The three religions, the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist, were equally tolerated. The imperial chamber was composed of twenty-four Protestant, and twenty-six Catholic members; and the emperor was even obliged to receive six Protestants into his aulic council at Vienna.

Had it not been for this peace, Germany would have become what it had been under the descendants of Charlemagne, an almost savage country.

All the towns from Silesia to the Rhine were ruined, the lands lay fallow, and the villages uninhabited. The city of Magdeburg, which had been burned to the ground by Count Tilly,[1] was not yet rebuilt. The trade of Augsburg and Nuremberg was entirely destroyed. There were no manufactories in the empire but those of iron and steel; money was extremely scarce; all the conveniences of life were unknown; the manners were affected by the harshness which thirty years' civil war had infused into all minds. In short, it has required an age to supply Germany with all that it wanted. The French refugees were the first who introduced this improvement, and no country has profited so much as Germany by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Everything else has been brought about of itself, or by

[1] John Tserclaes, count de Tilly, was one of the greatest captains of the age in which he lived. He distinguished himself in a particular manner at the battle of Prague; he defeated Mansfeld near Elbogen; routed the margrave of Baden at Wimpfen; gave Mansfeld a second overthrow in the neighborhood of Darmstadt; gained a complete victory over the duke of Halberstadt at Stadlau, and defeated the army of Denmark at Lutter, in the duchy of Brunswick. He took a great number of towns, and proceeded with equal rapidity and success, till 1631, when he was overthrown in a pitched battle at Leipsic, by Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. He reassembled and recruited his forces, and gained some advantages over Count Horn; but next year, at the passage of the Lech, he was mortally wounded, and died at Ingolstadt, unmarried. It is remarked of this great man that he never drank wine, and never knew woman.

time. The arts have spread themselves from place to place; and Germany is at length as flourishing as Italy was in the sixteenth century, when so many princes vied with one another in the splendor and politeness of their courts.

CHAPTER CXLIX.

ENGLAND TILL THE YEAR 1641.

As THE Spanish monarchy grew weak after Philip II., and France fell into decay and confusion after the reign of Henry IV., till restored again by the great successes of Cardinal Richelieu, so did the kingdom of England droop for a long time after the reign of Elizabeth. Her successor, James I., should have had more influence in Europe than herself, as having joined the crown of Scotland to that of England, and yet his reign was far less glorious.

It is to be observed that the laws of succession in England had not that incontestable sanction and force which they had in France and Spain. They reckon among James's chief rights, the will made by Elizabeth,[1] in which she calls him to the succession;

[1] Queen Elizabeth never made a will, and constantly refused to name her successor. After she was deprived of the use of speech, the noblemen of her council desired she would give some token of her approving James as her successor, and she laid her hand upon her head as a mark of approbation: but if she had made no such sign, the succession was already so settled that the crown would have quietly devolved on the king of Scotland.

and James himself was in continual apprehension, lest he should not be named in the will of a queen so beloved and respected by her people, who would necessarily be determined by her last desires.

Notwithstanding his great obligation to Elizabeth's will, he did not put on mourning for the murderess of his mother. As soon as he was acknowledged king, he looked upon himself as such by divine right, and for that reason assumed the title of "Sacred Majesty." This was the first foundation of the nation's discontent, and of the unparalleled misfortunes of his son and his posterity.

In the first part, which was the most peaceable of his reign, there was formed one of the most horrid conspiracies that ever entered into the human imagination; all the other plots which revenge, politics, or the barbarity of civil wars, and even fanaticism itself had produced, were not to compare in blackness to the powder plot. The English Roman Catholics expected greater concessions from the king than he chose to grant them. Some of them, more outrageous than the rest, and possessed with that gloomy melancholy which engenders the greatest crimes, had resolved to restore their religion in England, by extirpating at one blow the king, the royal family, and all the peers of the kingdom. One Percy, of the Northumberland family, Robert Catesby, and others, contrived a scheme to place thirty-six barrels of gunpowder under the house of lords, where the king was to make his speech to the

parliament, on Feb. 7, 1605. Never was crime more easy to be executed, nor attended with a more certain prospect of success. No one could have the least suspicion of so new a contrivance, nor could anything happen to obstruct it. The thirty-six barrels of powder, which had been bought in Holland at different times, were placed directly under the house of lords, in a coal cellar, which Piercy had several months before hired for the purpose. They now waited only for the meeting of the parliament; and there was nothing to fear, unless the remorse of some one of the conspirators; but the two Jesuits, Garnet and Aldecorn, whe were their confessors, had taken care to remove all scruples of conscience. Percy, who could without pity be the instrument of destroying the king and all the nobility of the nation, felt an emotion of compassion for one of his friends, Lord Monteagle, who was a peer of the kingdom. This private attachment prevented the execution of the design. He wrote a letter to Monteagle, in a feigned hand, advising him, if he had any regard for his life, to be absent at the opening of the session, for God and man had concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. "The danger," added the writer, "will be past in as little time as you shall take to burn the letter."

Percy was so secure that he never imagined it possible for anyone to guess that the whole parliament was to be blown up; however, the letter being read in the king's council, and no one being able to guess

at the nature of the intended plot, of which there does not appear the least probable intimation, the king, after some few minutes' reflection upon the short time that the danger was to last, suspected the true design of the conspirators. Persons were sent by his orders the very night before the opening of the parliament to search the vaults and cellars under the house; there they found a man at the cellar-door, with a match in his hand, and a horse waiting for him; and upon searching they found the barrels of powder.

Percy and the chief of the conspirators, upon hearing of the discovery of their plot, had time to raise about a hundred Catholic gentlemen, who all sold their lives dearly; only eight of the conspirators were taken and executed; among these were the two Jesuits. The king declared that they had suffered according to law; but their order declared them innocent, and made martyrs of them. Such was the spirit of the age in all those countries where the minds of mankind were blinded and led astray by religious disputes.

The Gunpowder Plot was the only great instance of cruelty that the English gave the world during the reign of James I. Far from being a persecutor, that monarch openly embraced toleration, and even strongly censured the Presbyterians, who taught at that time that hell was the infallible portion of every Papist.

He governed in uninterrupted peace for the space

of twenty-two years, during all which time trade flourished, and the people lived in plenty. Nevertheless, his reign was contemptible both at home and abroad; abroad, because, as being the head of the Protestant party in Europe, he neglected to support it against its Catholic adversaries in the grand crisis of the Bohemian war, and abandoned his son-in-law, the elector palatine; he treated when he should have fought, and was a dupe at the same time to the courts of Vienna and Madrid; he was continually sending splendid embassies, and never had an ally.

His little share of credit among other nations contributed not a little to make him despised in his own. His authority in England had suffered great diminution from his attempts to give it too much weight and lustre; by continually telling his parliament that God had made him absolute master over them, and that all their privileges were derived from the favor and condescension of his predecessors. By these and similar speeches he incensed the parliament until they examined into the limits of the royal prerogative, and the extent of the national rights; and from that time they tried to set bounds which they did not well understand. The king's eloquence only tended to subject him to severe criticism, and the world did not give his learning all the justice he expected from it. Henry IV. never called him by any other name than "Master James," and his own subjects did not bestow more gracious titles upon him. Accordingly he told his parliament in

one of his speeches, "I have piped to you, and you have not danced; I have mourned to you, and you have not lamented." By thus subjecting his prerogative to be canvassed by idle speeches badly received, he hardly ever obtained the supplies he demanded. His bounties and necessities obliged him, like many other princes, to dispose of dignities and titles which the vanity of mankind is always ready to purchase. He created two hundred baronets, a species of nobility between a baron and a knight, to descend as a hereditary title. For this insignificant honor each person paid two thousand pounds sterling. The only privilege enjoyed by these baronets was that of taking precedence of a knight; neither of them had a place in the house of peers; and this new distinction was very little regarded by the rest of the nation.

What chiefly alienated the affections of the English from him was his giving himself entirely up to favorites. Louis XIII., Philip III., and James were at one and the same time a prey to the same foible; and while the first was absolutely governed by Cadenet, whom he created duke of Luines, and the second by Sandoval, duke of Lerma, James was wholly under the direction of a Scotchman, named Carr, whom he created earl of Somerset, and whom he afterward left for George Villiers, as a woman leaves one lover for another.

This George Villiers was the duke of Buckingham, who was at that time so celebrated in Europe

for the beauty of his person, his amours, and his lofty pretensions. He was the first gentleman who had been made a duke in England, without being either a relative or an ally to the sovereign. It was one of the caprices of the human mind that a king who wrote like a divine in controversial points, should give himself up without reserve to a hero of romance. Buckingham persuaded the prince of Wales, afterward the unfortunate Charles I., to visit Spain in disguise, without any attendants, and go to Madrid to make love to the infanta, who was then proposed for a match to this young prince, offering to accompany him as his esquire in this knight-errant expedition. James, who was then called "the English Solomon," agreed to this extraordinary project, in which he hazarded the safety of his son and heir.

The more he was obliged to manage the house of Austria, the less able he was to assist the Protestant cause of his son-in-law, the palatine.

To make this romantic adventure complete, the duke of Buckingham, who had fallen in love with the duchess of Olivarez, affronted the duke, her husband, who was prime minister, broke off the match with the infanta, and brought the prince of Wales back again to England as suddenly as he had taken him away. He immediately set on foot a treaty of marriage between Charles and Princess Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV., and sister to Louis XIII., and though he behaved still more

extravagantly in France than he had done in Spain, he succeeded in his negotiation. But James never recovered the credit he had lost with his people. His high-flown notions of the royal prerogative and the divine right of kings, with which he perpetually interlarded all his speeches, and which he never maintained by his actions, gave birth to a faction which overturned the throne, and disposed of it more than once, after having stained it with blood. This faction was that of the Puritans, which partly subsists to this day, under the title of the Whig party; and the opposite faction, which stood up for the Church of England and the royal prerogative, has taken the name of Tories. These mutual animosities inspired the nation from that time with a cruel, outrageous, and gloomy spirit, which nipped in the bud the arts and sciences that were as yet hardly disclosed.

Some men of genius had, in the reign of Elizabeth, cultivated the field of literature, which till then had lain fallow in England. Shakespeare, and after him Ben Jonson, had polished the stage. Spencer had revived epic poetry; Bacon, who had more merit as a scholar than a chancellor, opened a new road to philosophy. The understandings of men began to be polished and improved. The disputes of the clergy and the bickerings between the king and his parliament brought back the age of barbarism.

It was a matter of no small difficulty to ascertain

the just bounds of the royal prerogative, the parliamentary privileges, and the liberties of the people, as well in England as Scotland, as likewise to settle those of the Episcopal authority in both kingdoms. Henry VIII. had broken down all the fences of the constitution; Elizabeth, at her accession, found some that had been newly settled, which she lowered and raised with a happy dexterity. James I. wasted his time in disputing, and while he pretended to level them all, he left them all standing; however, the nation, which was put on its guard by his declarations, prepared to defend them in case of an attack. Charles I., soon after his accession, attempted to execute what his father had too frequently proposed, without having ever effected.

It was in England, as well as in Germany, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, in the power of the people to grant subsidies to the sovereign in the nature of a free and voluntary gift. Charles I. was desirous of assisting his brother-in-law, the elector palatine, and the Protestants against the emperor. His father had at length entered upon the same design toward the latter part of his reign, when it was too late. Money was wanting to raise troops to send into the Lower Palatinate, and for defraying other expenses; it is this metal alone that confers power, since it has become the representative of all things. The king then demanded it as a debt, and the parliament would not grant it otherwise than as a free gift; and before they would grant even this, insisted

upon a redress of grievances. Were they to wait for a redress of grievances in every nation before they could procure supplies for raising troops, they would never be able to make war. Charles I. had been persuaded to this by his sister, the princess palatine, she who had forced her husband to accept the crown of Bohemia, who had for five years together vainly solicited her father for assistance, and at length obtained it after it had been so long deferred, through the interest and instigation of Buckingham. The parliament granted but a very limited supply. There had been some instances in England of kings who, not being willing to call a parliament, and being in need of money, had raised sums from private persons, by way of loan. This loan was extorted; those who lent their money usually lost it, and those who refused were imprisoned. These arbitrary methods had been practised on certain pressing occasions, where the prince was sufficiently powerful to exercise small arts of oppression with impunity. Charles made use of the same method, but with restrictions, and borrowed some sums with which he equipped a fleet, and raised troops, which returned without doing anything.

In 1626 a new parliament was to be called. The house of commons, instead of assisting the king's necessities, impeached the duke of Buckingham, whose power and insolence disgusted the whole nation. Charles, unable to bear the insult offered

to him in the person of his minister, committed two of the members who had been the most forward in accusing him, prisoners to the Tower. He did not, however, properly support this arbitrary act, which was indeed a direct violation of the laws; and his weakness in releasing the two members, emboldened those whom their imprisonment had irritated. He had also confined a peer of the kingdom on the same account, whom he also set at liberty in the same manner. This was not the way to procure supplies; accordingly, they would not grant him any. The extorted loans were therefore continued, and soldiers were quartered on the houses of those burghers who were backward in their contributions. Such conduct could not fail to alienate all minds from him. The general discontent was further increased by the duke of Buckingham, who had returned from his disgraceful expedition to La Rochelle.

A third parliament was convoked; but this was only assembling a number of exasperated subjects, who thought of nothing but restoring the national rights and the privileges of parliament. They began by voting that the habeas corpus act,[1] which was the

[1] The habeas corpus act was afterward passed as an explanation of that article in Magna Charta, importing that no freeman shall be arrested or imprisoned, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by an express law of the land. On this occasion the commons voted that no subject should be imprisoned without cause shown, and that the prisoner should enjoy the privilege of the habeas corpus, even though committed by order of the king and council.

guardian of their liberties, could not suffer encroachment; that the billeting of soldiers in the houses of the burghers was a violation of the liberty and property of the subject; and that no money could be raised by any other authority than act of parliament. The king, by being too obstinate in the support of his authority, and persisting in his demand, weakened the one, but did not obtain the other. The parliament was still bent on bringing the duke of Buckingham to a trial. An Irish fanatic, whom the general hatred of this minister had inspired with a kind of patriot fury, assassinated him, in 1628, in his own house, and in the midst of his friends. This act sufficiently showed the degree of fury which began to seize the nation. There was a trifling duty upon the importation and exportation of merchandise, called "Tonnage and poundage." The late king had always been in possession of this by act of parliament; and Charles thought there was no occasion for a second act to enable him to collect it. Three merchants of London having refused to pay this small tax, the officers of the customs seized their effects. One of these merchants was a member of the house of commons. This house, which had its own liberties to defend in those of the people, commenced a suit against the king's officers; the king, incensed at this behavior, dissolved the parliament, and committed four members of the house to the Tower. These were the weak begin-

nings which produced the overthrow of the state, and stained the throne with blood.

These sources of the public calamity were further increased by a torrent of divisions in the Church of Scotland. Charles resolved to perfect his designs, with respect to religion, as well as the state. Episcopacy had not been abolished in Scotland, at the time of the reformation before Mary Stuart; but the Protestant bishops had always been kept in subjection by the Presbyterians. The Scottish people were governed by a kind of republic of priests, who were all on an equality. This was the only country in the world where riches and honors did not make the bishops powerful. They retained their seats in parliament, their honorary rights, and the revenues of their sees; but they were pastors without flocks, and peers without credit. The Scottish parliament, which was wholly composed of Presbyterians, suffered the bishops to retain their dignity only to debase them. The ancient abbeys were all in the hands of seculars, who had places in parliament, in virtue of the title of abbot. By degrees the number of these titular abbots was diminished. James I. restored Episcopacy with all its privileges. The king of England was not acknowledged as head of the Church of Scotland; but being born in that country, and having lavished English money in pensions and places to several of its members, he was more master at Edinburgh than in London. The Presbyterian assembly still sub-

sisted as before, notwithstanding the restoration of Episcopacy. These two different bodies were always thwarting each other, and the synodic republic generally got the better of the Episcopal monarchy. James, who looked upon the bishops as a body devoted to the throne, and the Calvinistic Presbyterians as enemies to the kingly dignity, thought that he should be able to reconcile his Scottish subjects to Episcopal government by introducing a new liturgy among them, and getting it received. This was no other than the Church of England liturgy. His death prevented the accomplishment of this design, which his son Charles now resumed, and determined to carry into execution.

This liturgy consisted in certain forms of prayer and ceremonies, and the use of a surplice to be worn by the priest when officiating. The bishop of Edinburgh had no sooner begun to read the statutes enacting these several customs, in 1637, than the populace rose in the utmost fury and saluted him with a shower of stones. The Presbyterians immediately entered into a covenant, as if all laws, divine and human, were about to be abolished: and the natural desire of the great to support their own schemes on one side, and the fury of popular opposition on the other, raised a civil war in Scotland.

It was not known at that time who fomented these disturbances, nor who it was that prepared the way for the tragical end of Charles I. It was Cardinal Richelieu. This despotic minister, who wanted to

hinder Mary de Medici from finding an asylum in England, and to engage Charles in the interests of France, had received a refusal from that monarch, rather more haughty than politic, which had exasperated him. There is a letter of the cardinal's to Count d'Estrades, at that time envoy from the court of France to England, in which are those remarkable words, which we have already mentioned: "The king and queen of England shall repent their having neglected my offers before a year is past, and shall quickly find that I am not to be despised."

He had an Irish priest, who was one of his secretaries; this man he sent to London and Edinburgh, in order to sow dissensions among the Presbyterians, partly by his rhetoric and partly by money; and the letter to d'Estrades is another spring to this machine. In looking into the archives of all nations, we shall constantly find religion sacrificed to interest and revenge.

The Scots took up arms. Charles had recourse to the English clergy, and even to the Catholics of the kingdom, who equally hated the Presbyterians, and only furnished the king with money, because they looked upon this as a religious war. However, he had for some months an army of twenty thousand men; but they were of little service to him, except in forwarding his negotiations with the malcontents, and afterward, when this army was disbanded for want of pay, these negotiations became more difficult. He was therefore obliged to have recourse

again to war. History furnishes few examples of a greatness of soul equal to that of the noblemen who composed the king's privy council, who, on this occasion, contributed the greater part of their fortunes for their master's service. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, and the marquis of Hamilton, signalized themselves in a particular manner by their contributions; and the famous earl of Strafford, alone, gave a hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling; but these supplies not being nearly sufficient, the king was obliged to call another parliament.

The house of commons was so far from looking upon the Scots as enemies that they considered them as brothers, who set them an example for defending their own privileges; and the king received nothing from this parliament but the sharpest remonstrances against the methods he had employed to raise those supplies with which they had refused to furnish him. All the rights which the king had assumed to himself were declared abusive and oppressive; such as the duty of tonnage and poundage, ship-money, the sale of exclusive charters to the merchants, the billeting of soldiers in the citizens' houses, and, in short, everything which interfered with the liberties of the people. They also complained of a court of justice, called the Star Chamber, which had issued several severe decrees against the subjects. Charles then dissolved this new parliament, which greatly increased the dissatisfaction of the nation.

It seemed as if Charles had studied to set all ranks

of people against him; for instead of soothing the city of London in these delicate circumstances, he prosecuted it before the Star Chamber, for some lands in Ireland, and condemned it to a heavy fine. He continued to raise all the taxes, against which the parliament had so bitterly inveighed. Such conduct in an absolute prince would have occasioned a revolt among his subjects, much more in a limited monarch. Ill supported by his subjects, and secretly disquieted by the intrigues of Cardinal Richelieu, he was not able to prevent the Scottish army from coming as far as Newcastle. Having thus paved the way for his future misfortunes, in 1640 he convoked the parliament which put the finishing touch to his ruin. This session began, as all the rest had done, by craving redress of grievances, the abolition of the Star Chamber, the suppression of arbitrary exactions, particularly that of ship-moneys, and concluded by desiring triennial parliaments. Charles, who had it no longer in his power to refuse, granted all their demands. He hoped to regain his lost authority by a little flexibility, but herein he was mistaken. He imagined that the parliament would assist him in taking vengeance upon the Scots for their irruption into England; and instead of that, this very parliament made them a present of three hundred thousand pounds sterling to defray the expenses they had been at in carrying on a civil war. He flattered himself also with suppressing the Puritanical party in England; almost all the members of

the house of commons were themselves Puritans. He had a tender affection for the earl of Strafford, who had devoted himself so generously to his service; and the house of commons impeached this nobleman of high treason, purely on account of his attachment to his master. He was accused of various misdemeanors inevitable in tumultuous times, but all committed for the king's service, and which had been effaced by the generous manner in which he had contributed to the relief of his necessities. However, he was condemned by his peers: but he could not be put to death without the king's consent. The mad populace cried aloud for the blood of this loyal nobleman. The earl carried his virtue to such a height as to exhort the king to consent to his death; and the king was weak enough to sign this fatal act, which showed his subjects the way to shed blood still more precious.

CHAPTER CL.

MISFORTUNES AND DEATH OF CHARLES I.

ENGLAND, Scotland, and Ireland were divided into violent factions, as well as France; but those of France were only the cabals of princes and noblemen against a prime minister, who oppressed them; whereas the parties which distracted Charles's kingdom were the general convulsions of all minds, a violent and fixed desire of changing the constitution

of the state, an ill-concerted scheme in the royalists to establish despotic power, a madness for liberty in the people, a thirst for power in the commons, an evil design in the bishops to crush the Puritanical or Calvinistic party, and, in fine, the secret and closely-pursued plan of those people, called the Independents, which consisted in making use of the errors and mistakes of others, in order to render themselves their masters.

In the midst of all these troubles the Catholics of Ireland thought they had found the fairest opportunity of shaking off the English yoke; and religion and liberty, those two sources of the greatest actions, hurried them into a design the horror of which could only be paralleled by that of the fatal day of St. Bartholomew. They plotted to rise throughout all the provinces on one day, in October, 1641, and murder every Protestant in the kingdom; and they actually massacred upward of forty thousand. The king was at that time in Scotland, where he had but lately settled matters on a pacific footing, and the commons governed England. These Irish Catholics, in excuse for this barbarous massacre, pretended to have received a commission from the king himself to take up arms; and Charles, who was soliciting assistance against them, both from his English and Scottish subjects, found himself accused of the crime he was endeavoring to punish. The Scottish parliament referred the business to the commons of England, alleging with justice that Ireland depended

upon England. The king, therefore, returned in haste to London. The house of commons thinking, or at least pretending to think, that he was concerned in the Irish rebellion, sent but very slender supplies of men and money to that kingdom; and at the same time presented a remonstrance to the king of the most virulent nature.

Among other things they desired his majesty to employ in his council such persons only as should be nominated by them, and even threatened him to take other measures in case of a refusal. The house of commons sent three of its members to present this remonstrance to the king, who delivered upon their knees a petition, which was no other than an open declaration of war against him. Oliver Cromwell, who was already a member of the house, declared that if the remonstrance did not pass in the house he would sell the little estate he had and retire from England.

This speech proves that he was then an enthusiast for that liberty which his ambition afterward trampled on.

Charles did not dare at that time to dissolve the parliament; even had he attempted it, they would not have obeyed him. There were several officers of the army formerly assembled in Scotland, who were the king's friends, and particularly attached to his person. He was also supported by the bishops and the few Papist lords then in London; those who had before been engaged in the Gunpowder Plot, to

exterminate his whole family, were now wholly devoted to his interests; all the rest of the nation was against him. The populace, stirred up by the Puritan party, filled the whole city with sedition, and assembling in a great multitude before the house of lords, exclaimed, "No bishops, no bishops." Twelve prelates, intimidated by these riotous proceedings, resolved to retire, and subscribed a protest against all laws, votes, and resolutions which should be made in their absence. The lords, upon receiving this protest, committed them prisoners to the Tower; upon which the rest of the bishops soon afterward withdrew from the house.

While the king's power was thus upon the decline, one of his favorites, Lord Digby, gave him the pernicious and fatal advice to support it by one vigorous stroke of authority. The king unhappily forgot that this was a conjuncture in which he ought not to expose it to any new affront, and went in person to the house of commons, to apprehend five members who had been the most violent against him, and whom he impeached of high treason. These five members had withdrawn from the house: the whole house exclaimed against this violation of its privileges. The king, like a bewildered person who knows not whither to turn himself, went from the house to the Guildhall, to demand the assistance of the city. The common council, instead of complying with his desire, presented a remonstrance against himself. He then returned to Windsor, and, in

order to atone for the wrong step he had taken, and which he found himself incapable of supporting, sent a message to the commons, giving them to understand that he desisted from his prosecution of the five members, and would take as much care of the privileges of parliament as of his own life. The violence of his former conduct had rendered him odious to his parliament, and his present concessions made them despise him.

The commons began now to take the whole management of the kingdom into their own hands. The peers sit by their own right in parliament; this is the ancient privilege of the barons and feudal lords. The commons are in parliament as representatives for the cities and boroughs who elect them. The people placed much greater confidence in these deputies, who were their representatives, than in the peers. These latter, to recover the credit they had lost with the people, adopted the general sentiments of the nation, and stood up for the authority of a parliament, of which they were originally the principal part.

During this confusion the rebellion in Ireland triumphed over the weak opposition which had been made to it, and the insurgents, reeking with the blood of their countrymen, carried on their barbarities under the king's name, and that of the queen, his consort; especially the latter, as she was a Catholic. In 1642 both houses proposed to raise the militia, but at the same time insisted that it should be com-

manded by such officers only as they should nominate. According to law, nothing can be done touching the militia without the king's consent; and the parliament rightly supposed that he would never consent to sign an ordinance directed against himself. Accordingly the king withdrew, or rather fled, from London, into the north of England. His queen, Henrietta of France, daughter of Henry IV., who possessed most of her royal father's qualities, and was active, intrepid, insinuating, and even amorous, heroically supported in distress that husband to whom she had not been overfaithful in his prosperity. She sold her furniture and jewels, borrowed money in England and Holland, which she gave to her husband, and afterward went in person to Holland, on pretence of accompanying her daughter, the Princess Mary, to the Prince of Orange, her husband; but, in reality, to solicit aid from that state in case of emergency. She negotiated also at the northern courts; in a word, she sought everywhere for assistance, except in her own country, where Cardinal Richelieu, her avowed enemy, and her brother, the king, were both dying.

The civil war was not yet declared. The parliament had, by its own authority, appointed one Hotham governor of Hull, a small fortress on the seacoast of York, and which had, for a long time, been a magazine for arms and ammunition. The king appeared before the place and demanded admittance; Hotham caused the gates to be shut, and,

retaining some small respect for his royal master, came upon the ramparts and on his knees asked pardon for being obliged to disobey him. He was afterward opposed in a less respectful manner. The nation was now overspread with manifestoes from the king and parliament. Those noblemen who were in the king's interest repaired to him. He sent to London for the great seal of the kingdom, without which it was supposed there could be no law enacted; however, the laws made by the parliament against him were published and obeyed as effectually as if they had had his sanction.

Charles set up the royal standard at Nottingham; but no one appeared except a few train-bands, and those not armed. At length, by the supplies he received from Holland, by means of the queen, the presents made him by the University of Oxford, which sent him all its plate, and with what the rest of his friends could furnish, he got together an army of about fourteen thousand men.

The parliament, who had all the money of the kingdom at their disposal, soon raised a much superior force. Charles published a declaration at the head of his army, in which he protested that he would live and die in the true Protestant religion; and that he would maintain the laws of the realm, and even the privileges of that parliament which was in arms against him. His armies were commanded by Prince Rupert, son of the unfortunate elector palatine, Frederick, a prince of great

valor, and otherwise famous for his profound knowledge in natural philosophy, in which he made several useful discoveries.

The battles of Worcester and Edgehill, fought in 1642, at first proved favorable to the royal cause, and the king proceeded within a short distance of London. The queen had brought him a supply of artillery, arms, and ammunition, from Holland. She at once set out again in quest of new aid, with which she returned a few months later. The parliamentarians were not, however, discouraged: they knew they had powerful resources; and though subdued, they still acted as masters, against whom the king had rebelled.

They condemned and executed for high treason several subjects who had delivered up to the king his own towns; while the king, on his side, refrained from all reprisals on his prisoners. This alone may serve to justify, in the opinion of posterity, a prince who appeared so criminal in the eyes of his own subjects. Politicians, indeed, cannot forgive him for having wasted so much time in negotiating, when he should have taken advantage of his first success, and acted with alacrity and resolution, as the only means of putting an end to disputes of this nature.

Though Charles and Prince Rupert were beaten at Newbury in 1643, they still had the advantage of the campaign. The parliament continued stubborn and inflexible; and what is extraordinary, an assem-

bly of a few men conducted their designs with more steadiness and resolution than a king at the head of his army.

The Puritans, having got the majority in both houses, at length threw aside the mask. They entered into a solemn league with Scotland, and in 1644 signed the famous covenant by which they mutually agreed to destroy Episcopacy. It was plain, by this covenant, that the Scottish and English Puritans wanted to erect themselves into a republic. This was the spirit of Calvinism, which had long been at work in France upon the same grand design: it succeeded in Holland, but in France and England this darling scheme of the people could not be effected without shedding oceans of blood.

While the Presbyterians were thus arming England and Scotland, popery served on the other hand as a pretext with the Irish rebels, who still continued to oppose the troops sent against them by the parliament of England. The religious wars, under Louis XIII., were still recent; and the invasion of Germany by the Swedes, on the same account, was at its height. It was a deplorable circumstance that Christians should, for so many ages, have made use of the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church as a means for drenching in blood all that part of Europe where they are settled.

The rage of civil war was cherished by that gloomy and austere behavior which was affected by the Puritans. The parliament took this opportunity

to order the book of sports, composed by King James I., to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. This book had been written by the king, to show that it was lawful to use diversions on the Lord's day, after divine service was over. They thought by this action to do a service to religion, and an insult to the reigning prince. In the course of the same year the parliament likewise ordered that each family should deprive itself of one meal in the week, and contribute the value of it for carrying on the war.

We must not imagine that in any of the factions, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or even among the king's friends, or his enemies, there were many of those designing spirits, who, totally uninfluenced by the prejudices of party, only make use of the errors and fanaticism of others in order to gain the mastery over them. This was not the genius of these nations. Almost everyone was really of the party he embraced. Those who shifted sides, through some particular discontent, did it with a high hand. The independents were the only party who concealed their intentions, and this for two reasons — first, that as they were hardly looked upon as Christians, they might have given too much umbrage to the other sects; secondly, because they adopted certain enthusiastic notions, concerning the original state of equality among mankind; and that this levelling system must have hurt the ambition of the rest.

One of the strongest proofs of the inflexible sternness which had taken possession of all minds at that time is the punishment of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, who was condemned by the parliament after having been four years in prison. The only crime of which they could convict him, with any show of evidence, was of having made use of some of the ceremonies of the Romish Church at the consecration of a church in London. He was sentenced to be hanged, and his heart cut out and thrown in his face, the usual punishment for traitors; but the commons with difficulty indulged him with decapitation.[1]

Charles, finding the parliaments of England and Scotland united against him, and being hard pressed betwen their two armies, thought it necessary to conclude a truce with the Irish Roman Catholics, in order to employ in his own service part of the troops that served in Ireland against the rebels of that kingdom. This scheme succeeded, and he not only had a great number of the English from the army in Ireland, but also many of the Irish them-

[1] Archbishop Laud, when brought to trial, made such a vigorous defence that the commons, perceiving he could not be convicted in the common course of evidence, declared him guilty by an act of attainder. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been conveyed to him from Oxford; but it was declared null by both houses. Being sentenced to the death of a common felon, he petitioned that, as he was a priest, a bishop, a privy counsellor, and a peer of the realm, he might suffer decapitation; a request which the commons granted with difficulty.

selves, who came to increase his army. Upon this the parliament openly charged him with being the author of the rebellion in Ireland. Unfortunately, these new troops, on which he had placed so much dependence, were entirely defeated, in 1644, by Lord Fairfax, the parliament's general, and the king had only the grief of having furnished his enemies with a plausible pretext to accuse him as an accomplice with the Irish in their barbarities.

He now became more and more unfortunate; Prince Rupert, after having long maintained the honor of the king's arms, was at length beaten near York, and his army totally dispersed by the earl of Manchester and Lord Fairfax. Charles now retired to Oxford, where he was soon besieged. The queen was then in France. The king's extreme danger animated his friends to the exertion of their most powerful efforts. They obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Oxford. The king himself assembled a few troops, and at first met with some success; but this interval of good fortune proved of short duration. The parliament was still in a position to send a superior army against him, and he was attacked by the generals Essex, Manchester, and Waller, at Newbury, on the road to Oxford. Cromwell was then a colonel in the parliament's army, and had already made himself remarkable, by several acts of extraordinary valor. It is said that at this battle of Newbury, Oct. 27, 1644, the corps commanded by the earl of Manchester having given way, and

the earl himself being carried along with the rest in their precipitate flight, Cromwell, who was himself wounded, rode up to him and cried: "You are mistaken, my lord, the enemy are not this way;" and brought him back to the charge; in a word, most writers agree that the fortune of this day was chiefly owing to Cromwell. This is certain, that Cromwell, who began to have as much influence in the house of commons as he had reputation in the army, publicly accused his general of not having done his duty.

The fondness of the English for all strange things brought to light a new scheme of a most extraordinary nature, which perfectly explained Cromwell's true character, and proved at once the source of his greatness, the downfall of the parliament and Episcopacy, the murder of the king, and the abolition of monarchy.

The sect of independents began to make some noise. The most violent of the Presbyterians had joined this sect, which resembled the Quakers in condemning the ordination of ministers, and allowing everyone to preach and expound the Scriptures according to the talents he had received from nature; but they were at the same time as turbulent as the Quakers were mild and peaceable. They gave rein to the wildest imaginations; they formed the extravagant scheme of levelling all distinctions among men; and, in order to establish this desired equality, they had recourse to force. Oliver Crom-

well looked upon these people as fit instruments to be made use of in his designs.

The city of London, which was divided into several factions, complained bitterly that the parliament had loaded it with all the burden of the war. Cromwell then got some of the independents to make a motion in the house for remodelling the army, and to engage the members of both houses to resign all their civil and military offices. Almost all the profitable posts were in the hands of the members of one or the other house. The three generals of the parliament's army were peers; the major part of the colonels, majors, treasurers, purveyors, and commissioners of all kinds, were members of the lower house. Did it appear probable that so many persons in power could be prevailed upon by the flattery of words, to resign their posts and incomes? and yet this was effected by a single session. The commons in particular were dazzled with the prospect of gaining an ascendency over the minds of the people by this unexampled disinterestedness. This act was called "The self-denying ordinance." The peers at first hesitated to pass the bill, but were soon overpowered by the commons. The earls of Essex, Denbigh, Fairfax, and Manchester voluntarily resigned their commissions; and the whole command of the army was bestowed on Sir Thomas Fairfax, the general's son, as not being a member of parliament. This was just what Cromwell wanted; he had absolute power over this new gen-

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well looked upon these people as fit [illegible] be made use of in his designs.

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eral, as indeed he had over the house of commons, which continued him in the command of his regiment, notwithstanding that he was a member, and even ordered the general to give him command of a detachment of horse, which was directed to march to Oxford. This very man, who had so artfully deprived all the members of their military rank, had the address to get the officers of the independent party continued in their posts, and from that time it was easy to be perceived that the army would give laws to the parliament.

General Fairfax, with the assistance of Cromwell, remodelled the whole army, incorporated some regiments into others, made a total change in all the military corps, and established a new discipline; all this, which at any other time would have excited a revolt, now passed without the least resistance.

This army, animated with a new spirit, marched to meet the king's forces near Oxford, and here, on June 14, 1645, was fought the decisive battle of Naseby, between the royalists and the parliamentarians. Cromwell, who was general of the horse, after having defeated the king's cavalry, returned and fell upon the foot, which he routed; and the honor of that celebrated victory was chiefly owing to him. The royal army was, after a great slaughter, captured or dispersed. All the towns threw open their gates to Cromwell and Fairfax. The young prince of Wales, afterward Charles II., early a partaker in his father's calamities, was obliged to

fly over to the Scilly Islands. The king, after his defeat, retired with the shattered remains of his army to Oxford, and sent proposals for peace to the parliament, which they insolently rejected, and even insulted him in his misfortunes. Their general had sent them a casket of the king's, which was found on the field of battle, and which contained his private letters to the queen. Many of these letters were filled only with expressions of grief and tenderness. These were read openly in the house of commons, with all the bitter raillery which belongs to brutality.

The king was in Oxford, a town almost destitute of fortifications, between the victorious army of the parliament on one side, and the Scottish army on the other. He now saw no other possibility of escaping, than that of throwing himself into the arms of the Scots, who were the least rancorous of his enemies. Accordingly he repaired to the Scottish army, to whom he delivered himself up; but the parliament having paid the Scottish army the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was due to them for arrears, and promised the payment of as much more, the king on that instant became a prisoner.

The Scots delivered the king to the commissioners of the English Parliament, who at first were puzzled in what manner to behave to their royal prisoner. The war appeared to be ended, the Scottish army was on its march home, and the parliament had nothing to fear but from its own army, which had

made it victorious. Cromwell and his independents were the masters of the soldiery. This parliament, or rather house of commons, though still all-powerful in London, was sensible that the army was aiming at the supreme authority, and therefore wanted to get rid of these troublesome servants, who had become dangerous to their masters; accordingly it was voted to send part of the forces into Ireland, and to disband the rest. It may easily be imagined whether or not Cromwell would suffer this. The critical moment had now arrived; he formed a council of officers, and another of private soldiers, called "Agitators," who began by making remonstrances and petitions, and soon afterward gave laws to the parliament. The king was in the hands of the parliament's commissioners at Holmby Castle; a party of soldiers, of the council of agitators, went and took him by force from the castle, and brought him to the army at Newmarket.

After this bold step, the army marched directly to London. Cromwell, being desirous to color over the violence of his proceedings with some show of regularity, impeached eleven members of parliament, who were the declared enemies of the independent party, after which these members never dared to enter the house. The city of London at length opened its eyes when too late, and plainly perceived the misfortunes it had no longer the power to redress. It saw a tyrannical parliament tyrannized over by the army, its king a captive in the hands of

the soldiery, and its citizens exposed to imminent danger. The mayor and common council raised the militia, and hastily drew intrenchments round the city; but the army appearing at the gates, it threw them open, and quietly received its masters. The parliament put the command of the Tower into Fairfax's hands, in 1647, returned the army thanks for its disobedience, and gratified the soldiers with a sum of money.

They were still at a loss as to how to dispose of the king's person; the independents had removed him to Hampton Court. Cromwell and the Presbyterian party both entered into private treaty with him. The Scots also proposed to him to carry him off. Charles, who dreaded all these parties, found means to make his escape from Hampton Court, and crossed over to the Isle of Wight, where he thought to find an asylum; instead of that he only met with a new prison.

During this anarchy, the fatal consequence of a factious and despised parliament, a divided capital, an insolent army, and the flight and imprisonment of the lawful sovereign, the spirit which had so long animated the independents suddenly took possession of several of the common soldiers of the army, who formed themselves into a body under the name of "Levellers," an appellation which signified their design of reducing everything to an equality, and acknowledging no master, either in Church, Army, or State. They did not more, indeed, than what the

commons had done before them; they copied the examples of their officers, and their pretensions seemed to the full as well founded as those of the others. Their numbers were considerable; Cromwell, finding that they were likely to become the more dangerous, as they acted upon his own principles, and that, if they were suffered to go on, they might deprive him of the fruit of all his policy and labor, formed the sudden resolution to quell them, at the hazard of his life. Accordingly he repaired to a meeting of those levellers, with a guard of chosen men with whom he had always been victorious, and began to expostulate with them, desiring to know in God's name what they wanted; and then fell upon them with such fury, that they were unable to make any resistance. He ordered some of the prisoners to be hanged on the spot, and thus broke a faction whose only crime was that of having followed his example.

This bold action greatly increased his power, both in the army, the parliament, and the city of London. Sir Thomas Fairfax was still general of the army, but far inferior in credit to Cromwell. The king, who was prisoner in the Isle of Wight, continued to make proposals for peace, as if the war had not been already terminated, or that he thought his enemies would listen to them. His second son, the duke of York, afterward King James II., who was then about fifteen years of age, and was prisoner in St. James's palace, escaped more fortunately from his

confinement than his father had done from Hampton Court, and retired to Holland. Some of the king's friends having at the same time gained over a part of the English fleet, steered with their squadron to Brill, whither this young prince had retired, and delivered it to him. He immediately went on board, with his brother, the prince of Wales, and set sail for England, in order to assist their father; and this very assistance proved the means of hastening his ruin.

The Scots, ashamed of being looked upon by all Europe as a people who had sold their king, assembled an army in his behalf, which was joined by several young noblemen, and others of the king's friends in England. Cromwell made forced marches to meet them with a part of the army, gave them battle at Preston in 1648, routed their forces, and took their general, the duke of Hamilton, prisoner. The town of Colchester, in the county of Essex, which had declared for the king, was compelled to surrender at discretion by Fairfax; and this general sullied his victory by an act of cruelty, in causing several of the noblemen who had engaged the inhabitants to take up arms for their prince, to be shot in his presence.

While Fairfax and Cromwell were thus reducing all to their obedience, the commons, who dreaded Cromwell and the independents even more than they had done the king, began to treat with that unhappy monarch, and tried all their efforts to get rid of an

army on which they could never afterward place any dependence. The army, which had returned home victorious, demanded that the king should be brought to justice, as the author of all the evils with which the kingdom had been afflicted; that the principal royalists should be punished; and that the prince of Wales and the duke of York should be required to submit within a certain limited time, or otherwise to be proclaimed traitors, and banished forever. To this address the commons returned no answer. Cromwell procured petitions to be presented to him from all the regiments in the army, praying that the king might be brought to trial. General Fairfax, who was still so blinded as not to see that Cromwell only made use of him as a tool, caused the captive king to be removed from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle, and thence to Windsor, without vouchsafing to give any account of his conduct to the parliament. He then marched with the army to London, seized all the posts, and obliged the city to supply him with forty thousand pounds sterling.

The next day, when the commons were going to their house, they found a guard at the door, who excluded the greater part of the Presbyterian members, the first beginners of those troubles of which they themselves were the victims, and suffered none but independents to enter, or such rigid Presbyterians as had always been implacable enemies to monarchy. The excluded members, having published a protest against the violence they had undergone,

the two houses declared it scandalous and seditious. This remnant of the house of commons consisted wholly of a set of burghers, the slaves of the army, whose officers exercised unlimited power in all proceedings; the city itself was held in subjection by them; and the common council, which had so lately declared for the king, now wholly under the direction of the victorious party, concurred in the petition to have him brought to trial.

The commons appointed a committee of thirty-eight persons, to draw up a formal accusation or impeachment of his majesty; and a new court of justice was erected for trying him, of which Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, his son-in-law, Waller, and other persons, to the number of forty-seven, were appointed commissioners and judges. The few peers who still continued to sit in the upper house, only for form's sake, the rest having withdrawn, were formally summoned to assist at this trial; but not one of them would attend. However, their refusal did not prevent the court from proceeding with its business.

The lower house now voted that the sovereign power resided originally in the people, and that the authority of the nation was in the hands of the representatives of the people; this point, which the army determined by the voices of a few citizens, overturned the English constitution. The commons, assembled in parliament, are doubtless the legal representatives of the nation, but so also are the

king and the peers. It has always been complained of, as a grievance, in other states, when private persons have been tried by commissioners; but here a sovereign was tried by commissioners who were his own subjects, and appointed by a small part of the parliament. It is not to be doubted, that the house of commons thought they had a right to act in this manner. It was chiefly composed of independents, who all imagined that nature had placed no difference between them and kings, and the only distinction was on the side of the strongest. Ludlow, who was a colonel in the army, and one of the judges appointed on the king's trial, sufficiently proves by his memoirs, how much their pride was secretly flattered by having it in their power to pass sentence on one who had formerly been their master; and as this same Ludlow was a rigid Presbyterian, there is no room to doubt that fanaticism had a great share in this catastrophe; besides, he fully explains the whole spirit of the times, by quoting this passage out of the Old Testament: "The land cannot be cleansed from blood, but by the blood of him who shed it."

In short, Cromwell, Fairfax, the independents, and the Presbyterians, all concurred in thinking the death of the king absolutely necessary to their designs of setting up a commonwealth. Cromwell would not certainly flatter himself, at that time, with succeeding the king; he was only lieutenant-general in an army full of factions. He hoped, and

with good reason, that the reputation he had gained by his great military exploits would acquire him the first rank in that army, and in the republic, as well as an ascendency over the minds of the people; but had he at that time formed the design of getting himself acknowledged sovereign of the three kingdoms, he would not have deserved to have been so. The mind of man proceeds in every undertaking only by degrees, and those degrees necessarily brought on Cromwell's elevation, who owed it entirely to his courage and good fortune.

Charles I., king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was beheaded on Jan. 30, 1649, by the hands of the executioner, at Whitehall, and his body was afterward removed to the church of Windsor, but has never been found since. There had been several instances formerly of kings of England deposed by act of parliament, and of the wives of kings, who had fallen by the hand of the executioner. Mary, Queen of Scots, had been sentenced to death by English commissioners, who had no other right over her life, than what a robber has over the defenceless person who falls into his hands; but there had never yet been an instance of any people bringing their own sovereign to the block, with all the pomp and solemnity of justice. We must go back three hundred years before our era, to find an example, in the person of Agis, king of Lacedæmon.

CHAPTER CLI.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

After the murder of Charles I. the commons published a proclamation, forbidding all persons, on pain of death, to acknowledge the late king's son, or any other, as sovereign of England. They likewise abolished the house of lords, where there were but sixteen peers sitting; so that, in all appearance, they took into their own hands the sovereignty of England and Ireland.

The house of commons, which should be composed of five hundred and thirteen members, consisted then of only eighty. A new great seal was ordered to be made, on which were engraved these words: "The parliament of the commonwealth of England." The king's statue in the royal exchange had been already pulled down, and now this inscription was affixed in its room: "Charles, the last king, and the first tyrant."

This same house condemned to death several noblemen who had been taken prisoners fighting for their king. It was nothing extraordinary that those who had violated the law of nations should infringe the law of arms; to do which the more effectually, the duke of Hamilton, a Scottish nobleman, was in the number of those devoted to death. This treatment was the principal means of determining the Scots to acknowledge Charles II. for their

sovereign; but at the same time the law of liberty was so deeply riveted in all hearts, that they restricted the royal authority within as narrow bounds as the English parliament had done at the beginning of the troubles. The Irish received their new king without conditions; Cromwell then got himself appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and immediately set out for that kingdom with the flower of the army, and was attended with his usual success.

In the meantime Charles II. was invited over to Scotland by the parliament of that kingdom, but on the same conditions as they had proposed to his father. They insisted that he should be a Presbyterian, as the Parisians had insisted on his grandfather becoming a Roman Catholic. They restricted the royal prerogative in all things; whereas Charles was resolved upon having it preserved full and entire. His father's fate had in no way weakened in him those notions, which seem born in the heart of every monarch.

The first consequence of his being proclaimed king of Scotland was a civil war. The marquis of Montrose, a nobleman famous in those times for his personal valor and steady attachment to the royal family, had brought some soldiers from Germany and Denmark, whom he transported into the north of Scotland. Here he was joined by the Highlanders, and pretending to add the rights of conquest to those of his master, he was defeated, taken, and hanged upon a gallows thirty feet high.

In 1656, after the death of Montrose, the king finding himself absolutely without other resource, quitted Holland and put himself in the power of those who had so lately hanged his general, and faithful friend and protector, and entered the city of Edinburgh by the very gate where the quarters of Montrose were still exposed. The new commonwealth of England began to make instant preparations for a war with Scotland, resolved that one-half of the island should not be an asylum for a person who pretended to be king of the other also. This new commonwealth supported the change of government with as much prudence and conduct as it had shown rage and fury in bringing it about; and it was an unheard of thing, that a handful of private citizens, without any chief to command them, should keep the peers of the realm at a silent distance, strip the bishops of their dignity, restrain the people within bounds, maintain an army of sixteen thousand men in Ireland, and the same in England, support a formidable fleet well provided with necessaries, and punctually pay all demands, without any one member of the house enriching himself at the nation's expense. To provide for so great a charge, they observed the strictest economy in the management of the revenues formerly annexed to the crown, and made a sale of the forfeited lands of the bishops and chapters for ten years. In short, the nation paid a tax of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling per month; a tax ten times greater than that

of ship-money, which Charles I. had attempted to raise by his own authority, and which had been the first cause of so many disasters.

This parliament was not under Cromwell's direction, he being at that time on his Irish expedition, with his son-in-law, Ireton; but it was chiefly guided by the independent party, who still had a great sway. It was resolved by the house to assemble an army against the Scots, and to send Cromwell thither, next in command under General Fairfax; accordingly he received orders to quit Ireland, which he had almost subdued. General Fairfax refused to accept the command of the army against the Scots. He was not an independent, but he was a Presbyterian, and pretended that his conscience would not suffer him to attack his brethren, as they had not invaded England; and, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the house, he resigned his commission, and retired to end his days in peace. This was no extraordinary resolution, at a period, and in a country, where everyone acted by his own rules. This, however, proved the era of Cromwell's greatness. In June, 1650, he was appointed general in the place of Fairfax, and marched into Scotland at the head of an army accustomed to victory for over ten years. He defeated the Scottish army at Dunbar, and immediately took possession of the city of Edinburgh. Then he went in pursuit of Charles, who had advanced into England as far as Worcester, in hope that the English royalists would

rise in his behalf and join him; but his army consisted chiefly of newly raised troops, raw and undisciplined. Cromwell came up with, and attacked him on the banks of the Severn; and on September 13 gained the completest victory that had ever crowned his arms. He carried nearly seven thousand prisoners to London, who were sold as slaves to the American planters. The victorious army made itself master of all Scotland, while Cromwell pursued the king from place to place.

Imagination, the parent of fiction, never conceived a train of more extraordinary adventures, more pressing dangers, or more cruel extremities, than those which Charles experienced in his flight from his father's murderer. He was obliged to travel almost alone through by-paths, half spent with hunger and fatigue, till he arrived in Staffordshire. There he concealed himself a whole night and day, in the hollow of a large oak in the midst of a wood, surrounded by Cromwell's soldiers, who were everywhere in search of him. The oak was still to be seen at the beginning of this century. Astronomers have given it a place among the constellations of the Southern pole, and have thus perpetuated the remembrance of these disasters. This prince, after wandering from village to village, sometimes disguised like a postilion, sometimes in woman's apparel, and sometimes like a wood-cutter, at length found means to escape in a small fishing-boat, and was safely landed in Normandy, after having under-

gone, for six weeks, a train of adventures that almost exceed credibility.

Cromwell in the meantime returned to London in triumph. He was met a few miles from the city by the speaker of the house, accompanied by several of the members, and the mayor and magistrates of London in their formalities. The first thing he did, after his return, was to persuade the parliament to an abuse of the victory their troops had gained, and which was so flattering to the English. The house passed an act for incorporating Scotland, as a conquered country, with the English commonwealth, and royalty was abolished among the conquered, as it had already been among the victors.

Never had England been more powerful than since it had become a commonwealth. The parliament, which was wholly composed of republicans, formed the extraordinary project of joining the seven United Provinces to England, as it had lately incorporated Scotland. The stadtholder, William II., son-in-law of Charles I., had lately died, after having attempted to make himself absolute in Holland, as Charles I. had attempted it in England, but with no better success. He left a son in the cradle; and the English parliament hoped that the Dutch would as easily give up their stadtholder as the English had done its monarch, in which case the united republic of England, Scotland, and Holland might hold the balance of Europe; but the friends to the house of Orange having vigorously opposed this

project, which savored greatly of the enthusiasm of the times, this very enthusiasm determined the English Parliament to declare war against Holland. The two republics had several engagements at sea with various success. Some of the wisest among the members, who began to dread Cromwell's great influence and power, concurred in carrying on the war, that they might have a pretence for increasing the navy expense, which might oblige the parliament to disband the army, and thus by degrees overthrow the dangerous power of the general.

Cromwell saw into their schemes, as they had penetrated into his; and now he threw off the mask entirely, and showed himself in his proper colors. He told Major-General Vernon that he was compelled to do that which made his hair stand on end. He hastened to the house with a detachment of chosen men, followed by the officers who were most devoted to him, and set a guard upon the door; then he entered and took his place, and after some little pause: "Methinks," said he, "this parliament is ripe enough to be dissolved." Some of the members having reproached him with ingratitude, he started up in the middle of the house, and exclaimed, "The Lord has done with you, and has made choice of other instruments." After this fanatical speech he reviled all present in the most opprobrious terms, reproaching one as a drunkard, another as a whoremaster, and telling them all that the Gospel condemned them, and that they had nothing to do but to

dissolve themselves immediately. His officers and soldiers then entered the house, where pointing to the mace he bade one of them "take away that bauble." Major-General Harrison then went up to the speaker and compelled him to leave the chair; Cromwell then turning to the members, "It is you," added he, "that have forced me upon this. I have prayed to the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having said this, he turned out all the members one by one, locked the door himself, and carried away the key in his pocket.

What is still more strange is, that the parliament being thus dissolved by force, and there being no acknowledged legislative authority, everything did not fall into confusion. Cromwell called a council of his officers, and it was by them that the constitution of the state was truly changed. On this occasion there happened in England that which we have already seen happen in all countries in the world; the strong gave laws to the weak.

At Cromwell's instigation this council nominated one hundred and forty-four persons to represent the nation in parliament; these were chiefly taken from the lowest class of the people, such as shopkeepers, and journeymen handicraftsmen. One of the most active members of this parliament was a leather-seller, named Barebones, from whom this assembly was called Barebones' parliament.

Cromwell, as general, sent a written order to all

these members, requiring them to come and take upon them the sovereign power, and to govern the nation. This assembly, after sitting five months, during which time it became the object of ridicule and contempt to the whole nation, resolved to dissolve itself, and resigned the sovereign power into the hands of the council of war, who thereupon, of their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the three kingdoms, and sent for the lord mayor and aldermen to join in the same. Oliver was then conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, and there installed in the royal palace, where he afterward took up his residence. He was honored with the title of "Your Highness;" and the city of London invited him to a feast, where the same honors were shown him as had been paid to their kings. Thus did a private gentleman of Wales, from an amazing conjunction of courage and hypocrisy, rise to the kingly power, though under another name.

He was nearly fifty-three years of age when he attained the sovereign power, forty-two years of which time he had passed without having had any employ, civil or military. He was hardly known in 1642, when the house of commons, of which he was a member, gave him a commission as major of horse. From this beginning it was that he rose to be master of that house and the army; and after having subdued Charles I. and his son, stepped into their throne; and without being king reigned more absolutely and fortunately than any king had ever done. He chose

a council consisting of fourteen of the principal officers, who had been the companions of his fortunes, to each of whom he assigned a pension of a thousand pounds sterling. The forces were paid one month in advance; the magazines of all kinds were regularly supplied. In the treasury, of which he had the sole management, there were three hundred thousand pounds sterling, and about one hundred and fifty thousand in that of Ireland. The Dutch sued to him for peace, and he dictated the conditions, which were, that they should pay him three hundred thousand pounds sterling; that the ships of the states-general should pay the compliment to the British flag; and that the young prince of Orange should never be restored to the offices or posts of his ancestors. This was the prince, who afterward dethroned James II., as Cromwell had dethroned his father.

All the nations of Europe vied with one another in courting the protector. France courted his alliance against Spain, and put Dunkirk into his hands. His admirals took the island of Jamaica from the Spaniards, which has ever since remained with the English. Ireland was entirely subdued, and treated like a conquered country. The estates of the vanquished were bestowed upon the victors, and those who were most attached to the royal cause died by the hands of the common executioner.

Cromwell, who governed with all the authority of a king, convoked several parliaments; but, as he

was always their master, he dissolved them whenever he pleased. He discovered all the plots that were formed against him, and prevented many insurrections. The peers were wholly excluded from his parliaments and lived in obscurity on their respective estates. He had the address to prevail on one of these parliaments to make him a tender of the royal dignity, in 1656, that he might refuse it, and by that means more effectually secure his real power. He resided in the royal palace, where he lived a retired and gloomy life, without the least pomp or extravagance. General Ludlow, who was his lieutenant in Ireland, relates, that when the protector sent his son, Henry Cromwell, over to that kingdom, he sent only one servant to attend him. He was always of a morose disposition: he was sober, temperate, saving, though not greedy of another's possessions; he was diligent and punctual in all public affairs. By his dexterous management he kept well with all sects; he did not persecute either those of the Romish communion, or of the Church of England, who now hardly dared to show their heads: he had chaplains of all parties: he was an enthusiast with the fanatics, now called the Presbyterians, whom he had cheated, subdued, and no longer feared; and would laugh at them, with the deists, placing confidence only in the independents, who could not exist but through him. By this conduct he preserved to his last hour an authority which had

been cemented with blood and supported by force and artifice.

Notwithstanding his sobriety, nature had limited his life to fifty-eight years. He died, on Sept. 13, 1658, of a common fever, occasioned probably by the anxiety of mind ever attendant upon tyranny; for toward the latter part of his life, he was under continual apprehensions of being assassinated: he never lay two consecutive nights in the same room. At his death he nominated his son, Richard, his successor in the protectorship. As soon as the breath was out of his body, one of his Presbyterian chaplains named Herries, comforted the bystanders with this speech: "Do not be dismayed, as he protected the Lord's people so long as he remained among us, he will protect us still more powerfully, now that he is ascended into heaven, where he will be seated at the right hand of Christ." The spirit of fanaticism was so powerful at that time, and Cromwell was held in such high esteem, that no one laughed at this ridiculous notion.

Notwithstanding the different interests which prevailed at that time, Richard Cromwell was peaceably proclaimed protector in London. The council issued an order for the funeral of the deceased protector, which was more magnificent than that of any of the kings of England. They chose as a model on this occasion the ceremonial that had been used at the death of Philip II., king of Spain. It is to be observed, that Philip was represented as being in

purgatory for two months, in an apartment hung with black, and lighted with only a few tapers. He was afterward represented as in heaven. The body was laid on a bed, richly adorned with gold, in an apartment hung with cloth of the same, and illuminated with upwards of five hundred tapers, the light of which was again reflected from silver plates, which formed a lustre equal to that of the sun at noonday. The same ceremony was observed at Oliver's funeral. He was laid on a bed of state, with the crown on his head, and a golden sceptre in his hand. The people gave little attention either to this imitation of a Romish ceremony, or to the magnificence with which it was accompanied. The dead body was embalmed and deposited in the royal vault, from whence Charles II., after his restoration, caused it to be removed, and exposed upon a gallows.